



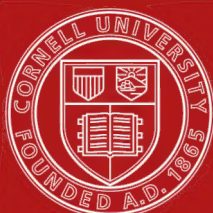
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S. EPHRAIM'S PROSE
REFUTATIONS

OF MANI, MARCION, AND BARDAISAN

VOLUME I

PLATE I

The image displays two columns of ancient Greek text, likely from a palimpsest. The text is written in a cursive script and is arranged in two columns. The top layer of text is the original surface, and the bottom layer is the underwriting, which is visible through the parchment. The text is dense and covers most of the page area.

PHOTO BY D. MACBETH, BRITISH MUSEUM

Folio 13b of the Palimpsest B.M. Add. 14623, inverted to show the underwriting.

[To face Title-page

S. EPHRAIM'S PROSE REFUTATIONS

OF MANI, MARCION, AND BARDAISAN

OF WHICH THE GREATER PART HAS BEEN
TRANSCRIBED FROM THE PALIMPSEST B.M.
ADD. 14623 AND IS NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

BY

C. W. MITCHELL, M.A.

FORMERLY RESEARCH STUDENT
EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME I

THE DISCOURSES ADDRESSED TO
HYPATIUS

PUBLISHED FOR
THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION SOCIETY

BY

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PREFACE

THE work of which this volume contains the first two parts was begun when I held a Research Studentship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It was then my intention to publish a translation of the fragments of S. Ephraim's prose refutation of the False Teachers, published by Overbeck ("S. Ephraemi Syri aliorumque opera selecta," pp. 21-73), and considered to be a valuable document for the history of early Manichæan teaching. In undertaking this I could not foresee that the work would extend over such a long period, or that it would, when complete, pass so far beyond the limits of my original plan. An unexpected enlargement of it has been made possible and has developed in the following way.

Before I had finished the translation of the Overbeck section, Professor Bevan, who had suggested the work, informed me that the remainder of Ephraim's Refutation was extant in the palimpsest B.M. Add. 14623. Wright's description of this manuscript did not encourage the hope that the underwriting could be deciphered. On p. 766 of the catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts he referred to it thus: "As stated above, the volume is palimpsest throughout, and the miserable monk Aaron deserves the execration of every theologian and Syriac scholar for having destroyed a manuscript of the sixth century written in three columns containing works of Ephraim . . ." These words not only state with emphasis Wright's opinion of the importance of the manuscript, but also suggest, I think, his fear that its original contents were lost. While I add, in passing, that they may also be taken to indicate the satisfaction which the recovery of that text would have brought him—a text of which he knew the first part intimately through his active share in the preparation of Overbeck's volume—I may also venture to express here, by anticipation, the hope that, after the whole of the present work has been published, both Theology and Scholarship may consent to modify the severity of this verdict on ill-fated Aaron.

On examining this palimpsest of eighty-eight leaves, I found that the older writing on a few pages could be read with ease, on a good number of others with much difficulty; while in

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each of these legible pieces there were more or less irrecoverable passages, and worst of all, only *one* side of the leaves could be read, except in two or three cases, though there was evidence that the writing was lurking in obscurity below.

I decided to edit as many of the pages as were fairly legible, and to publish them along with the translation which I have mentioned above. After I had worked at the palimpsest for a considerable time, my gleanings amounted to over thirty of its pages. But the illegibility of one side of the vellum, coupled with the confusion arising from the disturbance of the original order of the leaves and quires in the hands of the monk Aaron, made it impossible to arrange the deciphered pages so that they could be read consecutively. As they had been transcribed with tolerable completeness, most of them containing about a hundred manuscript lines, and as each page was a section from a genuine work of Ephraim against Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, the Text and Translation Society undertook the expense of publishing them as isolated Fragments.

In 1908 the pages, grouped in the best way possible according to their subject-matter, began to be printed. Nearly one half of them had passed through the press when the work was unexpectedly stopped by a most fortunate turn of events. Dr. Barnett, Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at the British Museum, began to apply a re-agent to the illegible portions of the palimpsest, and so wonderfully did its virtue revive the energies of the ancient ink, so distinctly did the underwriting show itself, here readily, there reluctantly, that it now became possible to transcribe almost the entire contents. In consequence, too, of his action, I was able to reconstruct the order of the leaves and quires, and to assign the former Fragments to their proper places in the original document.

It will thus not be difficult to see how these successive extensions of my first project prevented the appearance of the volume at the times promised. I feel, however, that the work has, in the meantime, gained so much in character and importance, that the facts which I have stated above will be a sufficient explanation to the members of the Text and Translation Society for what may have seemed vexatious delays. Instead of a text and translation of a collection of fragments, torn from their context, and suffering greatly from illegible gaps, this volume and that which is to follow it are now able to present to "the theologian and Syriac scholar" the text and translation of Ephraim's "Contra Haereses" approximately complete. The lacunæ which still remain will not, I think, be found to affect seriously the elucidation of many passages of importance.

Even with the help of the re-agent, the work of transcribing

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the palimpsest has been necessarily slow. Not to speak of the arduousness of the decipherer's task, which anyone who has had experience of such work will appreciate, there have been in the present case unusual difficulties owing to the fact that no other copy of the underwriting is extant. Such difficulties are inevitable when the decipherer's aim is not collation, but the recovery of a lost document. In a field of this kind pioneer work cannot go on rapidly; for it constantly happens that advance is only possible by verifying and re-verifying one's conjectures as to probable words and letters in passages which at first sight seem all but obliterated.

The time, moreover, which I have been able to devote to the work has been limited by my other duties, and has often been rendered still more scanty by the weather. Accurate deciphering is only possible under a good sunlight, and London has never claimed an abundance of this among her varied endowments. When bright days have been absent, in the interests of completeness and accuracy I have been obliged to postpone both transcribing and proof-correcting. For, however much the editor of such a work as the present may hope, for the sake of mistakes which he may have allowed to creep in, that he may not be transcribing *ἐς ἀεί*, yet he must feel that, as the writing soon fades back to that underworld from which it has recently emerged only after a thousand unbroken years of obscurity, there is laid upon him a special responsibility to attain finality in transcription. At the same time, he is aware that there comes a temptation to linger too frequently and painfully over sparse after-gleanings. Perhaps I have sometimes erred in this respect, but at any rate I feel that this edition presents a maximum of text recoverable from the palimpsest, and I have no hope that the lacunæ can be filled by a more prolonged study of it.

I have tried to make a literal translation, and for the sake of clearness have introduced marginal summaries. The difficulty of the Syriac of the published fragment of the second Discourse was formerly noted by Nöldeke (*ZDMG* for 1889, p. 543), and the remainder of the work is written in the same style.

In the next volume containing Parts III. and IV.—the latter of which is now being printed—there will appear the text and translation of an unedited work of Ephraim, called "Of Domnus." It consists of Discourses against Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, and a Hymn on Virginity. The Discourses against Bardaisan are remarkable as showing the influence of the Platonists and the Stoics around Edessa.

In the third volume, Part V., I shall endeavour to collect, arrange, and interpret the evidence derived from the first two volumes for the teaching of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan. In that

PREFACE

connection notes will be found on special points, *e.g.*, the references to the Hymn of the Soul, Vol. i, pp. lxxxix., cv.–cvii.; BÂN the Builder, p. xxx.; BOLOS, p. lxxii.; HŪLĒ, p. xcix. f.; Mani's Painting, p. xcii.; the Gospel quotations, *e.g.* pp. xc., c. Part V. will also contain indices for the whole work.

Throughout the first volume Ephraim directs his main attack against the teaching of Manichæism—'perhaps the most formidable rival that the Church has encountered in the whole course of her history.' If that system ultimately failed on the favourable soil of Syria, its defeat must have been in some measure hastened by the weapons forged by Ephraim, and stored up in these Discourses to Hypatius, to be used by others in proving that Manichæism could not justify itself intellectually to the Syrian mind.

I could wish to make my recognition of Professor Bevan's help as ample as possible. In editing the text, in conjectural emendations, and, above all, in the translation, I have had his constant and generous assistance. Throughout the work I have received from him encouragement and help of the most practical kind. For its final form, of course I alone am responsible.

I desire to express my thanks to Dr. Barnett, who has taken the greatest pains to restore the Manuscript to legibility, and who by his courtesy and kindness has greatly facilitated my progress with this work. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. Burkitt, who has given me advice and many suggestions; and to my colleagues the Rev. F. Conway and Mr. C. E. Wade for help on certain points.

To the Text and Translation Society, who undertook the publication of the work, and to the Managers of the Hort Fund for two grants in connection with it, I beg here to offer my sincere thanks.

C. W. MITCHELL.

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL,
LONDON.

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MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FIVE DISCOURSES
ADDRESSED TO HYPATIUS.

Two manuscripts—B.M. Add. 14570 and B.M. Add. 14574—have preserved the First Discourse. The first of these is fully described in Wright's Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts, pp. 406-7. This small volume contains as well a Discourse of Ephraim "On our Lord." It is written in a small elegant Estrangēlā of the fifth or sixth century, and each page is divided into two columns. On the first page there is a note stating that this was one of the two hundred and fifty volumes brought to the convent of S. Mary Deipara by the Abbot Moses of Nisibis, A.D. 932.

As regards the other manuscript, only the part of it numbered DXXXV by Wright, and described on pp. 407-8, requires mention here. Its nineteen leaves are "written in a fine regular Estrangēlā of the VIth century," each page being divided into three columns with from 34 to 38 lines to each. They contain not only the First Discourse but a fragment of the Second, (*Overbeck*, pp. 59-73) and originally belonged to the palimpsest Add. 14623, of which they formed the first nineteen leaves. Along with the eighty-eight leaves of this palimpsest, to which reference has already been made in the Preface, they formed a volume containing "To Hypatius" and "Of Domnus," two works which Ephraim intended to be his great refutation of the False Teachings. It thus becomes evident that the text of Discourses II-V, edited in Part ii., pp. 1-185, is really derived from a single manuscript, although, according to the Catalogue, the nineteen leaves and the palimpsest portion appear under different numbers.

When this sixth-century volume was rendered a palimpsest by

the monk Aaron, c. A.D. 823, fortunately the above-mentioned fragments—its first nineteen leaves—'escaped his ruthless hands.' But the surface of the remaining eighty-eight leaves suffered a ruinous transformation through his zealous attempt to remove the writing, and the treated vellum was re-arranged into new quires. The long list of works which the renovated codex was destined to contain can be seen on pages 464-7 of the Catalogue.

The two plates, one facing the title-page, the other opposite this page, show the present appearance of the manuscript. They have been reproduced from photographs of both sides of folio 13, which is a fair specimen of the leaves. It will be noticed that the underwriting on the first plate is fairly clear, while that on the second plate showing the other side of the same leaf is, except for the title, completely illegible. The text of both has been transcribed with the help of the re-agent. The photographs have lost somewhat in distinctness in the process of reproduction.

On folio 88*b* there are two notes of interest in connection with the history of this palimpsest (*CSM.* p. 766). From the first we learn that Aaron was a Mesopotamian monk, a native of Dārā, and that he wrote his manuscript in the Thebaid of Egypt. His date given above shows that Add. 14623 is one of the earliest palimpsests in the Nitrian Collection. Another note on the same page states that the volume was presented with nine others to the convent of S. Mary Deipara, by Isaac, Daniel and Solomon, monks of the Syrian convent of Mār Jonah in the district of Marīs or Mareia, A.D. 851-859.

The manuscript was 'brought from the Nitrian desert by Archdeacon Tattam, and has been in the British Museum since March, 1843.

SIZE AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORK.

At the head of the First Discourse in B.M. Add. 14574, the following title is found: "Letters of the Blessed Ephraim, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet, against the False Teachings." On this Wright remarked that although the words "arranged according to the letters of the alphabet" appear to imply that there were originally twenty-two of these Discourses, following one another like those of Aphraates in the order of the Syriac alphabet, yet this "seems unlikely as the second Discourse begins with the letter א" (*CSM*, p. 408).

The exact meaning of the words remained obscure till Professor Burkitt, after examining the palimpsest portion of the work, showed that it consisted of five Discourses arranged acrostically in the order of the five letters of the author's name. He also observed that "a similar method of signature is actually used by Ephraim in the Hymn added at the end of the Hymns on Paradise (*Overbeck*, p. 351 ff.), the several stanzas of which begin with the letters א ב ג ד ה" (*Texts and Studies*, vol. vii-2, pp. 73, 74).

The decipherment of the palimpsest makes it possible to complete Professor Burkitt's evidence (*op. cit.* p. 74) thus:—

The First Discourse begins	א ב ג ד ה א
The Second Discourse begins	ב ג ד ה א ב
The Third Discourse begins	ג ד ה א ב ג
The Fourth Discourse begins	ד ה א ב ג ד
The Fifth Discourse begins	ה א ב ג ד ה

TABLE I

SHOWING THE RELATION OF PRIMITIVE QUIRES TO
THE MODERN ARRANGEMENT

	Ancient Quire and Leaf.		B.M. Add. 14623		Modern Quire and Leaf.
I.	Original order preserved in B.M. Add. 14574				
II.	Original order preserved in B.M. Add. 14574				
III.	1	=	Folio 14	=	II. 6
	2	=	„ 10	=	2
	3	=	„ 9	=	1
	4	=	„ 12	=	4
	5	=	„ 16	=	8
	6	=	„ 11	=	3
	7	=	„ 15	=	7
	8	=	„ 18	=	10
	9	=	„ 17	=	9
	10	=	„ 13	=	5
IV.	1	=	Folio 19	=	III. 1
	2	=	„ 22	=	4
	3	=	„ 21	=	3
	4	=	„ 23	=	5
	5	=	„ 20	=	2
	6	=	„ 27	=	9
	7	=	„ 24	=	6
	8	=	„ 26	=	8
	9	=	„ 25	=	7
	10	=	„ 28	=	10

TABLES I AND II

Ancient	B.M. Add. 14623			Modern	Quire and Leaf.
Quire and Leaf.					
V.	1	=	Folio 29	=	IV. 1
	2	=	„ 36	=	IV. 8
	3	=	„ 44	=	V. 6
	4	=	„ 34	=	IV. 6
	5	=	„ 46	=	V. 8
	6	=	„ 41	=	V. 3
	7	=	„ 33	=	IV. 5
	8	=	„ 43	=	V. 5
	9	=	„ 31	=	IV. 3
	10	=	„ 38	=	IV. 10
VI.	1	=	Folio 42	=	V. 4
	2	=	„ 39	=	V. 1
	3	=	„ 35	=	IV. 7
	4	=	„ 47	=	V. 9
	5	=	„ 37	=	IV. 9
	6	=	„ 30	=	IV. 2
	7	=	„ 40	=	V. 2

The rest of the Quire belongs
to Vol. II.

TABLE II

GIVING THE TRANSCRIBED LEAVES OF THE PALIMPSEST
ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF THEIR NUMBERING IN
THE CATALOGUE, AND THE PAGES OF THE PRESENT
VOLUME ON WHICH THE TEXT OF EACH LEAF BEGINS

Folio 9 begins on page 33	Folio 17 begins on page 59
„ 10 „ „ 28	„ 18 „ „ 55
„ 11 „ „ 46	„ 19 „ „ 68
„ 12 „ „ 37	„ 20 „ „ 85
„ 13 „ „ 63	„ 21 „ „ 77
„ 14 „ „ 23	„ 22 „ „ 72
„ 15 „ „ 50	„ 23 „ „ 81
„ 16 „ „ 42	„ 24 „ „ 94


TABLE II (continued)

Folio 25 begins on page 103	Folio 37 begins on page 173
.. 26 98	.. 38 151
.. 27 89	.. 39 160
.. 28 107	.. 40 181
.. 29 111	.. 41 133
.. 30 176	.. 42 155
.. 31 146	.. 43 142
.. 32 belongs to Vol. II.	.. 44 120
.. 33 begins on page 137	.. 45 belongs to Vol. II.
.. 34 124	.. 46 begins on page 129
.. 35 164	.. 47 168
.. 36 115	

PART I.—TRANSLATION.

THE FIRST DISCOURSE	. . .	pp. i-xxviii
THE SECOND DISCOURSE	pp. xxix-1
THE THIRD DISCOURSE	pp. li-lxxiii
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE	pp. lxxiv-xci
THE FIFTH DISCOURSE	. . .	pp. xcii-cxix

[Short lacunæ are indicated in the translation by dots, and longer gaps by asterisks, but in neither case is the number of the dots or asterisks intended to bear any exact relation to the number of the missing words. In respect to this an approximately correct inference may be drawn by consulting the Syriac text.

Double inverted commas mark quotations where the original has 

Single inverted commas are used in numerous cases where the words seem to be quotations or to belong to a special terminology.

Words in italics inside square brackets are to be regarded as conjectural translations or paraphrases.

In a few passages, where the text has suffered great mutilation, italics indicate an attempt to summarise the argument from suggestions in the fragments.]

also of God, the fountain of good things, by means of Speech (which is) a gift from Him. For by means of this (faculty) which is like God we are clothed with the likeness of God. For divine teaching is the seal of minds, by means of which men who learn are sealed that they may be an image for Him Who knows all. For if by Freewill Adam was the image of God, it is a most praiseworthy thing when, by true knowledge, and by true conduct, a man becomes the image of God. For that independence exists in these also. For animals cannot form in themselves pure thoughts about God, because they have not Speech, that which forms in us the image of the Truth. We have received the gift of Speech that we may not be as speechless animals in our conduct, but that we may in our actions resemble God, the giver of Speech. How great is Speech, a gift which came to make those who receive it like its Giver! And because animals have not Speech they cannot be the likeness of our minds. But because the mind has Speech, it is a great disgrace to it when it is not clothed with the likeness of God; it is a still more grievous shame when animals resemble men, and men do not resemble God. But threefold is the torture doubled when this intermediate (party between God and animals) forsakes the Good above him and degrades himself from his natural rank to put on the likeness of animals in his conduct.

And a
letter can-
not speak.
Ov. p. 23,
l. 2.

A letter, therefore, cannot demonstrate every matter about which a man is seeking to ask questions, because the tongue of the letter is far away from it,—its tongue is the pen of the writer of it. Moreover, when the letter speaks anything written in it, it takes to itself another tongue that the letter may speak with it, (the letter) which silently speaks with two mute tongues, one being the ink-pen, the other, the sight of the (reader's) eye. But if we thus rejoice over a letter poor in treasures, how much more shall we rejoice over a tongue which is near us, the lord and treasurer of the treasures within!

Yet I
have
written
because I

But I had desired that instead of your seeing me in the characters of a document, you might have seen me in the characters of the countenance; and instead of the writing of

my letter thus seeing you, I had desired that my eyes instead of my writings might see you. But because the sight of our face is not worthy of the pure gaze of your eyes, behold you are gazing on the characters of our letter. But justly pure writings have met your pure eyes ; not that I say that the pure is profaned by the defiled, but it is not right that pure eyes should look at what is not pure. For even though the People had sanctified their bodies three days, (yet) because they had not sanctified their hearts he did not allow them to approach the holy Mountain, not that holiness would be profaned by those who were defiled, but those who were defiled were not worthy to approach holiness. But by Moses, the holy one, who went up into the holy Mountain, God gave an instance for the consolation of the pure and for the refutation of the defiled, (showing) that all those who are holy like Moses are near holiness like Moses. For when one of the limbs of the body is satisfied all the limbs receive a pledge of satisfaction, that they too will be satisfied together with that one in the same manner. For by means of that body, too, in which our Lord was raised, all bodies have received a pledge that they will be raised with it in like manner.

felt myself
unworthy
to meet
thy piety.

Exod. xix.
10 ff.

Ov. p. 24.

But, my brother, in that thou didst stir up our littleness to approach you, know that if I wished I could come, but know, too, that if I could come I would not wish to be deprived (of the opportunity). For I could come if I had no intelligence ; but I have been unable to come because I had intelligence. In (blissful) innocence I might have come on account of love, but (looking at the matter) intelligently I was unable to come on account of fear.

Discreet
fear pre-
vented me
from visit-
ing thee
at thy
request.

And whoever is steeped in love like a child is above fear ; and whoever is timorously subject to fear vain terror always tortures him. It helps athletes too in a competition to be above fear through the encouragement of a good hope, and not to fall under the sickly apprehensions which result from a timorous habit of thought. Athletes perhaps (might) well fear because the victor is crowned and the loser suffers shame. For they do not divide the victory between the two of them.

Not that
I was
overawed
at the
prospect
of a dis-
cussion.

But we ought not to fear a struggle in which failure is There

would
have been
gain how-
ever it
ended.

Ov. p. 25,
l. 3.

Ex. xxxiii.
18 ff.

In spite of
my con-
scious in-
feriority I
might
have given
a little
help: for
all are mu-
tually de-
pendent.

Ov. p. 26,
l. 7.

victory ; since when the teacher wins the learner too is much helped. For helper and helped are both partakers in the gain. If, then, we had come to teach there would have been a common victory as Error would have been overwhelmed by our Truth. But if we had been unable to teach, yet had been able to learn, there would have been a common victory in that by your knowledge there would have been an end of ignorance. The treasure of Him that enricheth every one is open before every one, since Grace administers it, (Grace) that never restrains intelligent inquirers. If, therefore, we had possessed something we could have bestowed it as givers, or if we did not possess anything we could have received as inquirers. But if we had not been able to give nor able even to receive, our coming could not have been deprived of all good. For even if we could not have searched you out with our mind yet we could have seen you with our eyes ; since we have no greater gift than seeing you. But Moses testifies that while it was granted to him to do everything like God, at last he abandoned everything and prayed to see the Lord of all. For if the creatures of the Creator are thus¹ pleasant to look upon, how much more pleasant is their Creator to look upon : but because we have not an eye which is able to look upon His splendour, a mind was given us which is able to contemplate His beauty. Man, therefore, is more than his possessions, just as God is more excellent and more beautiful than His creatures.

But know, my beloved. that if we had come, it would not have been possible for us to have been real paupers such as receive everything, nor again for you to have been complete givers, to give everything. One who lacks is not lacking in all respects, lest he should be abased ; neither is he who is complete. complete in every respect, lest he should exalt himself. But this lack has arisen that completeness may be produced by it. For in that we need to give to one another and receive from one another, the wants of all of us are filled up by the abundance of all. For as the wants of the limbs of the body are filled up

¹ Read  for  Ov. p. 25, l. 19.

one by the other, so also the inhabitants of the world fill up the common need from the common abundance. Let us rejoice, therefore, in the need of all of us, for in this way unity is produced for us all. For inasmuch as men are dependent on one another, the high bend themselves down to the humble and are not ashamed, while the lowly reach out towards the great and are not afraid. And also in the case of animals we exercise great care over them on account of our dependence on them, and obviously our need of everything binds us in love towards everything. O hated Need! yet much-loved unity is produced from it. Because countries are dependent on one another, their dependence combines them as into a body; and like the limbs they give to one another and receive from one another. But these arrangements of interdependence belong to one rich complete Being, Whose need is this—to give to everything though He has no need to receive from anywhere. For even what He is thought to receive from us, He takes it astutely from us in His love that He may again give it to us manifold more as the rewarder. This is that astuteness which ministers good things, and our craftiness which ministers evil things should resemble it.

But as regards that fear of which we spoke above, not only upon us weak ones does the constraint of fear fall, but even upon the heroes and valiant themselves. Nor have I said this in order to find comfort for our folly, but that we might remind thy wisdom. For when Peter despised fear and was wishing to walk upon the waters, although he was going (thither) on account of his love which was making him run, yet he was nigh to sinking on account of fear which fell upon him¹; and the fear which was weaker than he on dry land, when it came among the waves into a place in which it was strengthened became powerful against him and overcame him. From this it is possible to learn that when any one of all the desires in us is associated with an evil habit which helps it, then that desire acquires power and conquers us. For fear and love were weighed in the midst of the sea as in a balance, and fear turned the scale and won; and that Simon whose faith was lacking

I said above that I refrained from coming through fear. Such fear even S. Peter experienced.

Ov. p. 27, l. 13.

¹ Read **دخلك** for **دخلك** Ov. p. 27, l. 10 (cf. Ov. p. xxv.).

and rose in the balance was himself nigh to sinking in the midst of the sea. And this type is a teacher for us, that is to say, it is a fear-inspiring sign that all those whose good things fail and are light when rightly weighed, are themselves nigh to sinking into evil. But if any one say :—why is it necessary to frame illustrations of this kind, let him know that this may not be harmful if we receive from everything some helpful lesson for our weakness. If, therefore, Peter was afraid of

Ov. p. 28. the waves, though the Lord of the waves was holding his hand, how much more should weak ones fear the waves of Controversy, which are much stronger than the waves of the sea! For in the waves of the sea (only) bodies are drowned, but in the waves of Investigation minds sink or are rescued.

The Publican in the Parable was conscious of this fear.

But, again, that Publican also who was praying in the Temple was very importunate about forgiveness, because he was much afraid of punishment. He was in a state of fear and love; he both verily loved the Merciful One on account of His forgiveness, and he verily feared the Judge on account of His vengeance. And though, on the one hand, he was praying in love because of his affection, yet, on the other hand, because of his fear he would not dare to lift up his eyes unto Heaven. And though Grace was urging him forward, his fear was unable to cross boldly the limit of justice.

Such fear may be a gain.

If the fear of the Publican who was justified knew its measure and did not exalt itself to cross the limit, how can weakness dare to neglect the measure and to cross the limit of propriety? For this also (is said) that a man may know the degree of his weakness and not exalt himself to a degree above his power. I think that such a man cannot slip. For he does not run to a degree too hard for him and so receive thence a fall. For without knowledge men run to degrees too hard for them; and before they go up pride urges them on, and after they fall penitence of soul tortures them.

On the other hand, the Lord gave a Parable of un-abashed importunity.

But, again, indeed, I see that that importunity about which our Lord spake was praised and enriched because its importunate nature ventured to cross the limit of propriety; for if it had been abashed and observed propriety, it would have gone empty away, but because it was presumptuous and trampled down

harmful modesty as with its heels, it received more than it had asked. O Necessity, whose importunate words enriched its destitution! For it does not aid necessity to be subject to harmful modesty, but (it is aided) by its importunity being a good instrument for (securing) good things. Ov. p. 29,
l. 5.

But if all these praises were bestowed on importunity, which opened closed doors, and aroused those who were asleep in bed, and received more than was its due, how must that indigence be censured which has not approached open doors nor received help from the treasuries of the Rich One! ¹ Better, therefore, is he who is importunate about his aid than he who is ashamed and loses his aid. For whoever observes proper modesty while he loses his aid, even the propriety which he has observed is in that case subject to censure, and propriety has become impropriety. And he that seeks after exact propriety at all times is neglectful of sound propriety. For from the best wheat, if it shed not much bran, fine flour cannot be made; for unripe fruit is not palatable, and what is over ripe loses flavour, or else its taste is pungent, or bad. Better,
therefore,
is whole-
some im-
portunity,
than a
barren
scrupu-
losity
about
exact
propriety.

For if we refine things much beyond what is proper, even the fine and the pure are also rejected. For it is not right for us to cultivate Ignorance, or deep Investigation, but Intelligence between-these-two-extremes, sound and true. For by means of the two former a man surely misses his advantage. For by means of Ignorance a man cannot understand Knowledge, and by deep Investigation a man cannot build on a sound foundation. For Ignorance is a veil which does not permit one to see, and Investigation, which is continually building and destroying, is a changeful wheel that knows not how to stand and be at rest; and when it passes in its investigation over true things, it cannot abide by them; for it has unstable motions. When, therefore, it finds anything it seeks, it does not retain its discovery, and is not rejoiced with the fruit of its toil. But if we inquire much into everything we are neglectful of the Lord of everything, inasmuch as we desire to know all things like Him. And since our Knowledge cannot know everything, The
proper
limits of
Know-
ledge.

Ov. p. 30,
l. 3.

¹ Read $\kappa\iota\lambda\alpha\tau\iota$ for $\kappa\iota\lambda\iota\tau\iota$ Ov. p. 29, l. 14.

we show our evil Will before Him Who knows all things. And while He is higher than all in His Knowledge, the ignorant venture to assail the height of His Knowledge. For if we are continually striving to comprehend things, by our strife we desire to fence round the way of Truth and to confuse by our Controversy things that are fair—not that those fair things are confused in their own nature, but our weakness is confused by reason of the great things. For we are not able completely to apprehend their greatness. For there is One who is perfect in every respect, whose Knowledge penetrates completely through all.

It is not good for us to seek deep Knowledge: for deep things are unknowable. See how *Simplicity* is better than *Cleverness*.

Ov. p. 31,
l. 12.

But it is not right for us to look at all things minutely, but rather simply—not that our Knowledge is to be Ignorance; for even in the case of something which a man does not do cleverly, if he does the thing with clever discrimination then his lack of Cleverness is Cleverness. And if, by his Knowledge he becomes an ignorant man so that he ignores those things which he cannot know, even his Ignorance is great Knowledge. For because he knows that they are not known, his Knowledge cannot be Ignorance. For he knows well whatever he knows. But the mind in which many doubts spring up, destroying one another, cannot do anything readily. For thoughts, vanquishing and vanquished, are produced by it, and the waves which from all sides beat upon it, fix it in doubt and inaction. But it is an advantage that the scale of simplicity should outweigh in us the scale of wrangling-logic. For how many times, in consequence of the clever and subtle thoughts which we have concerning a matter, that very matter is delayed so as not to be accomplished! And consider that in the case of those matters which keep the world alive, Simplicity accomplishes them without many thoughts. For these matters succeed when a single thought controls them, and they stand still when many thoughts rush in. For there is only a single thought in Husbandry, that is (the thought) that in a simple manner it should scatter the seed in the earth. But if other thoughts occurred to it so that it pondered and reasoned as to whether the seed was sprouting or not, or whether the earth would fail to produce it, or would restore it again, then Husbandry could not sow. For morbid thoughts spring up against a single

sound thought, and weaken it. And because a thing is weakened, it cannot work like a sound thing. For the soundness of a thought like the soundness of a body performs everything. And the husbandman who cannot plough with one ox cannot plough with two thoughts. Just as it is useful to plough with two oxen, so it is right to employ one healthy thought. Ov. p. 32.

Moreover, if the martyrs and confessors who have been crowned had approached with double thoughts they could not have been crowned. For when our Freewill is in a strait between keeping the commandment and breaking the commandment, it is usually the case that it is seeking two reasonings destructive of one another, so that by means of the interpretation of one reasoning it may flee from the pain of the other, that is to say, (it argues) in order that by a false excuse it may cast away the burden of the commandment. Now, without wandering after those things which are unnecessary, or omitting anything that is necessary, let us say in brief and not at length, that if anything succeeds by means of a single sound thought, its soundness is weakened by many thoughts. For if we approach with polished wiles any matter which we ought to approach in a simple way, then our intelligence becomes non-intelligence. For in the case of every duty, whenever a man proceeds beyond what is its due, all the ingenuities which he can devise about it, are foolish. So (too) in the case of any investigation in which the investigator slips from its truth, all the discoveries he may make, although his discoveries may be clever, are false. For everything which is clever is not true; but whatever is true is clever. And whatever is debated is not deep, but whatever is said by God is subtle when it is believed. But there is no subtlety equal to this, that everything should be duly done in its own way, and if it happen that what is to be done can be done simply, its simplicity is subtlety. For it is all the more fitting that we should call this simplicity subtlety in that it accomplishes helpful things without many combinations and reasonings. For in that it does things easily it resembles Deity, Who easily creates everything. Deep Investigation is to be avoided. Ov. p. 33.

It is right, therefore, that we should investigate well the advantage of things by an examination of them; and if they are simple The advantage of simple

Know-
ledge can
be seen in
the case of
the hus-
bandman.

judged by the investigators to be simple, there are many things which are thought to be obviously unsuccessful, but their unseen qualities achieve a great victory. For there is nothing that appears more simple than this, that the husbandman should take and scatter in the earth the gathered seeds which he holds in his hands. But, after a time, when it is seen that the scattered seed has been gathered and has come with a multitude like a general with his army, and that the seed which had been regarded as lost is found and finds also other (seeds) with it, then a man marvels at the husbandman's simplicity, which has become a fountain of cleverness. Therefore, with regard to this very thing, hear on the other hand the opposite of it, that if a man spare the gathered seed, so as not to scatter it, he is thought indeed to act prudently in refraining from scattering. But when we see the husbandman's scattered investment collected in the principal and interest, and the earth rewarding him, then the intelligence which refrained from scattering is seen to be blindness, because it is deprived of (the chance of) gathering. Therefore, it is not an advantage to us that we should always be led astray by names, nor that we should be deceived by outward appearances.

Or. p. 34.

I consid-
ered the
matter
carefully
before I
decided
not to
visit thee.

For if, because I wisely discerned that it would not be right for me to venture to come, I did not come for that reason, perhaps it would have been better for me if I had not wisely discerned. For, perhaps, my coming to thee in childlike and simple fashion would have met with success. But know again that if I had come recklessly I would not have wished to come, because our coming would have been indiscreet. For we should have had no fruit of intelligence. For everything which is done indiscreetly belongs either to reckless habit, or blind chance; and it has no root in the mind of those who do it.

In de-
ciding, I
was con-
scious of
a free
power of
Choice
within
me: the
nature of
Freewill.

But if these two wise conclusions (namely) that I should come and that I should not come, (both) belong to my Will, this is a single Will of which one half does battle with the other half, and when it conquers and is conquered it is crowned in both cases. This is a wonder, that though the Will is one, two opinions which are not homogeneous are found in its homogeneity. And I know that what I have said is so, but why (it is so) I am not

able to demonstrate. For I wonder how that one thing both enslaves it and is enslaved by it. But know that if this was not so mankind would have no free power of Choice. For if Necessity makes us wish, we have no power of Choice. And if, again, our Will is bound and has not the power to will and not to will we have no Freewill. And, therefore, necessity thus demands that there should be a single thing, and though it is a single thing, when that single thing wills to be two it is easy for it, and when again it wills to be one or many it is a simple matter for it. For in a single day there are produced in us a great number of Volitions which destroy each other. This Will is a root and parent; it is both one and many. This Will brings forth sweet and bitter fruit. O free Root with power over its fruit! For if it wills it makes its fruits bitter, and if it wills it makes its products sweet. For God to Whom nothing is difficult has created in us something which is difficult to explain, and that is, Freewill. And though this (Will) is one, yet there are two opinions in it, that of willing and that of being unwilling; so that when half of it struggles with and conquers the other half, then the whole of it is crowned by the whole of it. For this is an unspeakable wonder, how, though the Will is one, half of it rebels against the Law and half of it is subject to the Law. For, lo, there are in it two opinions contending together, for part of the Will desires that Evil should be done, and again, part of it uses restraint and guards against Evil being done. And how on the one hand has the Will not been transformed by that part of it which desires evil things that it may become like its part which desires evil things? and how again (on the other hand) has the Will not been converted by that part of it which loves good things, that the whole of it may become good like the part of it which loves good things? But if both these parts can be converted to Good or Evil, what shall we call them? That we should call them Evil (is impossible, for) they can be good,—that we should call them good (is impossible, for) they can be bad. And though these two can be a single thing, yet except they are divided and are two there can be no struggle between them. This is a wonder which we are unable to speak of, and yet we cannot be silent about it. For we know

“The Will is both one and many.”

Ov. p. 35, l. 5.

Ov. p. 36.

that a single Will possessed of many conclusions exists in us. But since the Root is one we do not understand how part of the thought is sweet, and part of it bitter, even if it does not completely escape our notice. And how, on the one hand, is that bitterness swallowed up by that sweet thing so as to become pleasant like it? And how again when it (*i.e.*, the sweet thing) has been swallowed up is it mixed with that bitter thing so as to become bitter like it? And again, how when these two frames of mind have been swallowed by one another, and have become one thing affectionately, are they again separated from one another and stand one against the other like enemies? For where was that Mind before we sinned that brings us to penitence after sins? And how is that Mind turned to penitence after adultery, which was raging before adultery? These are frames of mind which are like leaven to one another, so that they change one another and are changed by one another. But here our Truth has conquered the (false) Teachings and bound them so that none of them can bear investigation.

This Discourse is meant for friends.

But if any one wishes to investigate some of the Teachings (in question) let him know that we¹ have not been called at present to struggle with enemies, but to speak with friends. But when the statement (intended) for friends is finished, then our belief will show a proof of its power in a contest also. But it is easy for every man to perceive what I have said, because there are in every one two Minds, which are engaged in a struggle one against the other, and between them stands the Law of God, holding the crown and the punishment, in order that when there is victory it may offer the crown, and when failure appears it may inflict punishment.

Ov. p. 37.

False views about the origin of Evil make the Law an absurdity,

But if the Evil which is in us is evil, and cannot become good, and if also the Good in us is good, and cannot become evil (then) these good and evil promises which the Law makes are superfluous. For whom will the Rewarder crown—one who is victorious by his Nature and cannot fail? Or whom, again, will the Avenger blame—that Nature which fails² and cannot conquer? But if that good thing which is in us is obedient to

¹ Read אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ Ov. p. 36, l. 23. See *ib.* p. xxv. (v.l.).

² Read אֵלֵינוּ for אֵלֵינוּ Ov. p. 37, l. 11.

something evil, how can we call that Good, seeing that it has a close relationship to Evil? For by means of that thing whereby it becomes obedient to Evil its kinship with Evil is perceived. For that Evil would not be able to draw it to itself if it were not that its lump had an affinity to the leaven of Evil. See therefore, also, that what they call a good Nature is, in virtue of what it is, convicted of being an evil Nature; inasmuch as it has an evil Will which is drawn away after Evil. But inasmuch as it has an evil Will, all Evil things had a tendency towards it. For there is nothing more evil than an evil Will. For that is the root of evil things. For when there is no evil free Will, then evil things come to an end. For the deadly sword cannot kill apart from the evil Will of its holder. But see, already when we have not advanced to the contest (even) before the contest. the enemies of the Truth have been conquered beforehand.

or make
Good akin
to Evil.

The evil
Will is the
root of
Evil.

Ov. p. 38.

And if any one ask, what then is this Will? we must tell him that the real truth about it is that it is the power of Free-choice. And because it is not right to scorn a good learner, let us now like those who hasten and pass on throw him a word, that is to say, one of the words of Truth. For, even from a single word of Truth, great faith dawns in a sound and wise hearer; just as a great flame is produced by a small coal. For if a single one of a few coals of fire is sufficient to make scars on the body, one of the words of Truth, also, is not too weak to clean away the plague spots of Error from the soul. If, therefore, any one asks, "What is this Will, for though it is one thing, part of it is good, and part of it evil?" we shall tell him that it is because it is a Will. And if he asks again, we shall tell him that it is a thing endowed with independence. And if he still continues to indulge in folly, we shall tell him that it is Freewill. And if he is not convinced this unteachableness of his teaches that because there is Freewill he does not wish to be taught. But if he is convinced when they say to him that there is no Freewill, it is truly wonderful that in the annulling of his Freewill, his Freewill is proved, that is to say, by his being in a desperate state. And the matter is as if some eloquent person wished to harangue and to prove that men have no power of Speech. And that is great madness;

The Will
is its own
explanation.

The very
denial of
Freewill
proves

that it
exists.

Ov. p. 39.

for he says there is no power of Speech when he uses the power of Speech. For his power of Speech refutes him, for by means of Speech he seeks to prove that there is no power of Speech. When Freewill, too, has gone to hide itself in a discussion and to show by argument that it does not exist, then is it with more certainty caught and seen to exist. For if there were no Freewill, there would be no controversy and no persuasion. But if Freewill becomes more evident when it hides itself, and when it denies (its own existence) it is the more refuted, then when it shows itself it is made as clear as the sun.

The Will
is not en-
slaved,
but is the
Image of
God.

And why does Freewill wish to deny its power and to profess to be enslaved when the yoke of lordship is not placed upon it? For it is not of the race of enslaved reptiles, nor of the family of enslaved cattle, but of the race of a King and of the sons of Kings who alone among all creatures, were created in the image of God. For see every one is ashamed of the name of slavery and denies it. And if a slave goes to a country where men know him not, and there becomes rich, it may be that, although he is a slave and of servile origin, he may be compelled to say there that he is sprung from a free race and from the stock of kings. And this is wonderful that, while slaves deny their slavery, yet the Freewill of fools denies its own self. And see, if men give the name of slave to him who says that there is no Freewill, he is displeased and becomes angry, and begins to declare the Freedom of his family. Now, how does such a person on the one hand deny Freewill, and on the other acknowledge it? And on the one hand hate literal slavery, and (on the other) acknowledge spiritual slavery? If he chose with intelligence and weighed the matter soundly it would be right for him to acknowledge that (principle) that he might not be deprived of the mind's free power of Choice. And here he is exposed who blasphemes very wickedly against the Good One, the Giver of Freewill, Who made the earth and everything in it subject to its dominion.

Freewill is
denied by
those who
wish to
blame
God for

But there is no man who has gone down and brought up a crown with great toil from the hard struggle, and (then) says that there is no Freewill, lest the reward of his toil and the glory of his crown should be lost. The man who has failed says there

is no Freewill that he may hide the grievous failure of his feeble Will. If thou seest a man who says there is no Freewill, know that his Freewill has not conducted itself aright. The sinner who confesses there is Freewill may perhaps find mercy, because he has confessed that his follies are his own; but whoever denies that there is Freewill utters a great blasphemy in that he hastens to ascribe his vices to God; and seeks to free himself from blame and Satan from reproach in order that all the blame may rest with God—God forbid that this should be! But if he is intelligent he ought not to think that a being endowed with power over itself is similar to a thing which is bound in its Nature. And, moreover, it would not be right for any one, after he has heard that the Will . . . to ask (and say), ‘But what, again is the Will?’ Does he know everything, and has this (alone) escaped his knowledge, or does he know nothing at all since he cannot know even this? But if he knows what ‘a bound Nature’ is, he can know what an unconstrained Will is, but that which is unconstrained cannot become constrained, because it is not subject to constraint. But in what is it unconstrained except in that it has (the power) to will and not to will?

their failures.

The mystery of the Will is a part of a wider mystery.

And¹ if he is unwilling to be convinced in this way, it is because the power of his Freewill is so great, and our mouth is unable to do it full justice; our weak mouth has confessed that it is unable to state its unconstrained Will. For it is a Freewill which subjects even God to Investigation and rebuke, on account of its unconstrained nature. It ventured to bring up all this because it desired to speak about that which is unspeakable. But that (Freewill) which has ventured to make statements concerning God, itself is not able to state its own nature perfectly. But concerning this, also, we say to any one who asks that this is a marvel which it is very easy for us to perceive, but it is very difficult to give a proof of it. But this is not so only in this matter, but it is the same with everything. For whatever exists may be discussed without being searched out; it can be known that the thing *exists*, but it is not possible to search out *how* it exists. For see that we can perceive

The power of Freewill is obvious but unspeakably difficult to explain.

Ov. p. 41, l. 5.

But it is impossible to explain anything completely.

¹ Read for Ov. p. 40, l. 25.

everything, but we cannot completely search out anything at all ; and we perceive great things, but we cannot search out perfectly even worthless things. But thanks¹ be to Him Who has allowed us to know the external side of things in order that we may learn how we excel, but He has not allowed us to know their (inward) secret that we might understand how we are lacking. He has allowed us, therefore, to know and not to know that by means of what can be known, our childish nature might be educated, and that our boldness might be restrained by those things which cannot be known. Therefore, He has not permitted us to know, not that we may be ignorant, but that our Ignorance may be a hedge for our Knowledge. For see how we wish to know even the height of heaven and the breadth of the earth, but we cannot know ; and because we cannot know we are thus restrained from toiling. Therefore, our Ignorance is found to be a boundary for our Knowledge, and our want of Knowledge (lit. simpleness) continually controls the impetuosity of our boldness. For when a man knows that he cannot measure a spring of water, by the very fact that he cannot, he is prevented from drawing out what is inexhaustible. And by this experience it is seen that our weakness is a wall in the face of our boldness. Thus, too, when we know that we cannot know, we cease to investigate. For if, when we know little, the impetuosity of boldness carries us on and proceeds to those things which may not be known, who is there who will not give thanks to Him Who has restrained us from this wearisomeness, even if we do not wish to remain within the just boundary within which He has set us ? Our Ignorance, therefore, is a bridle to our Knowledge. And from these instances it does not follow that the All-knower wished to make us ignorant, but He placed our Knowledge under a helpful guardian ; and better is the small Knowledge which knows the small range of Ignorance than the great Knowledge which has not recognized its limits ; and better is the weak man who carries about something that is necessary for his life than the arrogant strong man who burdens himself with great stones which cause his destruction. But our chief Knowledge is (just) this—to know that we do not know

Let us thank God that our Knowledge of things is limited.

Knowing that our powers of knowing are so limited we can avoid vain and weary searching.

Ov. p. 42, l. 5.

Yet we are not to be ignorant, but to seek after practical Knowledge.

Our chief Knowledge is to

¹ Read *ܘܫܝܚܘܢ* for *ܘܫܝܚܘܢ* Ov. p. 41, l. 16.

anything. For if we know that we do not know, then we conquer Error by our Knowledge. For when we know that everything that exists is either known or not known, thereby we acquire the true Knowledge. For whoever thinks he can know everything, falls short of the Knowledge of everything. For by means of his Knowledge he has gained for himself Ignorance. But whoever knows that he cannot know, from Ignorance Knowledge accrues to such a one. For in virtue of the fact that he knows that he cannot know, he is enabled to know, that is to say, (he knows) something which profits him. know what subjects can never be known. Ov. p. 43.

If, therefore, as I said above, though the Will is one, part of it compels and part of it is compelled, by whom was I compelled not to come except by my own Will? O that some unknown external Constraint had opposed me! For perhaps with the whole of my being I would have contended against the whole of that (Constraint) and been victorious. (O that it had been thus), and that an inward Constraint had not opposed me, (a Constraint) of which I know not how to give an account! For I am not able to state how part of me contends with another part; in virtue of being what I am, I conquer, and am conquered continually. No external force compelled my Will when deciding not to come to see thee.

But we are not stating the case as the Heresies state it. For they say that Constituents of Good and Evil are mingled together in us, and "these Constituents conquer one another, and are conquered by one another." But although Error is able to deck out what is false, the furnace of Truth is able to expose it. For we say that free Volitions conquer one another, and are conquered by one another; for this is the Freewill which the voice of the Law can transform. The heretical Teaching says that the Will is a Mixture;

And if they say that if Freewill comes from God, then the good and evil impulses which belong to it are from God; by saying this, what do they wish to say? Do they wish to affirm that there is no Freewill? And if they deny Freewill what can they believe? For if they deny Freewill the Law and Teaching are of no use; and so let books and laws be rolled up and let judges rise from their thrones, and let teachers² cease to Consequences of the denial of Freewill. Ov. p. 44.

¹ Read *כִּי־אֵין* for *כִּי־אֵין* Ov. p. 43, l. 9.

² Read *כִּי־אֵין* for *כִּי־אֵין* Ov. p. 44, l. 3.

teach! let prophets and apostles resign their office! Why have they vainly laboured to preach? Or what was the reason of the coming of the Lord of them all into the world?

Freewill and the teaching about the Constituents are incompatible.

But if they profess belief in Freewill—which is actually what they profess—that Freewill which they profess to believe in compels them to deny that Evil which they believe in. For both of them cannot stand. For either our Will sins, and (at other times) is proved to be righteous, and for this reason we have Freewill; or if the Constituents of Good and Evil stir in the Will, then it is a Constituent which overcomes, and is overcome, and not the Will.

Freewill means Freewill not a 'bound Nature.'

But if any one says that everything which stirs in our Freewill does not belong to Freewill, by his Freewill he is making preposterous statements about Freewill. For how does he call that Freewill when he goes on to bind it so that it is not Freewill. For the name of Freewill stands for itself; for it is free and not a slave, being independent and not enslaved, loose, not bound, a Will, not a Nature. And just as when any one speaks of Fire, its heat is declared by the word, and by the word 'Snow,' its coolness is called to mind, so by the word 'Freewill' its independence is perceived. But if any one says that the impulses that stir in it do not belong to Freewill he is desiring to call Freewill a 'bound Nature,' when the word does not suit a Nature. And he is found not to perceive what Freewill is, and he uses its name rashly and foolishly without being acquainted with its force. For either let him deny it, and

Ov. p. 45.

then he is refuted by its working, or if he confesses it, his organs contend one against the other; for he denies with his mouth what he confesses with his tongue.

The Law of God presupposes Freewill.

For the Giver of Freewill is not so confused (in mind) as this man who is divided (against himself) part against part, that He should become involved in a struggle with His nature. For He gave us Freewill which, by His permission, receives good and evil impulses, and He furthermore ordained a Law for it that it should not do overtly those Evils which by His permission stir invisibly in it. And let us inquire a little. Either though He may have had the means to give us Freewill, He did not wish to give it, though He may have been able to give it, or He may

not have had the means to give, and on this account He was unable to give it. And how was He Who was unable to give Freewill able to give a Law when there was no Freewill? But if He gave the Law, the righteousness which is in His Law reproves our Freewill, for He rewards it according to its works.

And if there is no Freewill, does not this Controversy in which we are involved concerning Freewill, bear witness that we have Freewill? For a 'bound Nature' could not utter all these various matters controversially. For if all mankind were alike saying one thing or doing one thing, perhaps there would be an opportunity to make the mistake (of thinking) that there is no Freewill. But if even the Freewill of a single man undergoes many variations in a single day so that he is good or evil, hateful or pleasing, merciful or merciless, bitter or pleasant, blessing or cursing, grateful or ungrateful, so that he resembles both God and Satan, is it not established by thousands of witnesses that we have Freewill? And, behold, at the mouth of two or three witnesses is every word established.

For examine all those variations which I mentioned above, and see that they do not exist in any 'bound Natures,' not in the sea nor on the dry land, not in the luminaries nor in the stars, not in trees nor in roots; nor even in animals—and yet there is sensation in animals—nor even in birds, though they have sight and hearing. But if hawks are birds of prey, they are all birds of prey; if wolves are destructive, they are all ravagers; and if lambs are harmless, they are all innocent, and if serpents are cunning, that subtlety belongs to all; but man, owing to his Freewill, can be like them all, while they cannot become like him. On this account they have a (fixed) Nature, while we have Freewill.

Thou usest the word 'Freewill,' learn its independence from the word; thou usest the word 'Slavery,' learn the bondage (of slavery) from the word; thou usest the word 'Nature,' recognize its immutable fixity by the word; and thou speakest of 'God,' recognize His actual Existence by the word. For all these are words which are not at variance with their (underlying) realities. If thou namest these things when thou wishest, thou must of necessity acknowledge them to thyself even if

The diversity among men proves that Freewill exists.

Ov. p. 46.
Deut. xix 15.
S. Matt. xviii. 16.

Man alone has Freewill. Compare him with other creatures and see the difference.

The word Freewill must stand for a reality.

thou dost not wish. Speak against Freewill, and in virtue of what it is we can know how powerful Freewill is, since it has struggled with its power against its power. For even when a man says that there is no Freewill, he is able to say there is no Freewill because he has Freewill; and, therefore, in proportion as that Freewill artfully changes itself in various ways, so those changes tell us that Freewill exists. For a 'bound Nature' cannot be changed. Why then is it necessary for us to obtain from another direction testimony as to whether Freewill exists or not? For, behold, in virtue of being what it is, the evidence for it is proclaimed. For when it denies itself, (saying) that it is not independent, it is convicted of not being in bondage. For when any one acknowledges that Freewill exists, it is not right that Necessity should come near it.

The Teaching about the Constituents makes all teaching futile.

But if, as these say, the Constituents of Good and Evil overcome, and are overcome, they are able to believe in a Mixing of Good and Evil, just as if they denied that there is a Mixing, then they are able to believe that Freewill exists. But if they say that, when the evil Constituent is large, Freewill is subject to compulsion; what, then, is it that the Heretics teach in their Congregations except the Error which they have been taught? For if they teach it is because there is Freewill; supposing there is no Freewill, let them shut their mouths and not teach.

The Will cannot affect the nature of physical poisons.

But let them be asked, are they Teachers of Freewill or Changers of our Nature? If a man eats by mistake from a deadly root, the Will of the eater cannot change that deadly thing, seeing that it is not an unfettered Will that he should change it; but it is an evil Constituent, the nature of which cannot be changed by words. How then can the just Judge condemn mankind (by asking), why they have not changed by the Will the evil Nature which cannot be changed by the Will? Therefore, let them either admit that unfettered free Wills are changed to Good or Evil or let them admit that if they are 'bound Natures' of Good and Evil, they are Natures which cannot be conquered by words. For they ought to supply an antidote as a medicine to counteract a deadly poison. For it is right that by natural illustrations that Teaching should be refuted which was composed deceitfully from analogous phenomena in Nature. But

Truth is strong enough to destroy with the single reply which it makes the numerous fabrications of Falsehood.

For it is obviously clear from what I say that there are not The great diversity of our thoughts show that we have Freewill. Weights of Good and Evil conquering one another and being conquered by one another. For, behold, in a single hour one can think even a hundred good thoughts. And if because there was at that time¹ much Good in a man, his good thoughts were numerous within, behold that man can do the reverse of this in the same hour. For directly after these good thoughts a man can think a multitude of evil thoughts. Which one of these, therefore, do they affirm to be more than the other? And if they say that the Evil was most (in amount), how then since all that Evil would be in the man did it permit him to think all those good thoughts? And if that Evil made room of its own Will, that Evil is good, which has this good Will. For how did that Evil which, when it wished, finally conquered the Good, consent to give way before it at first? But if they say that the Good Ov. p. 49. exceeded (in amount), in which of a man's limbs, did all the Good hide itself, and make room for the small amount of Evil to go up and show a great victory? If, therefore, the Evil submitted to give way before the Good, the Evil is better than the Good, in that it took the crown and gave it to its opponent. But if the Good consented to give place to the Evil that it (*i.e.*, the Evil) might be victorious, the Good is more evil than the Evil in that it gave place to the Evil to do corruptly.

It is, therefore, clear to any one who has knowledge that The Soul is not a Mixture: it has free Choices. Weights and Constituents of Good and Evil neither outweigh one another, nor are outweighed by one another; but on the contrary, there are real free Choices which conquer one another and are conquered by one another, since all the Choices can become one Choice. For if good Choices spring up in us from the good Root which is in us, and evil Choices are produced in us from that evil Root which is in us, then these (powers) in us are not independent free Choices, but Natures fixed by Necessity.

For if, as one of the Heretics says, Purity and Foulness were mixed together, it is not Freewill that would be required to separate the good Will from the evil Will, but a strainer to Freewill could not separate the Constituents.

¹ Read **ⲉⲓⲃⲏ** for **ⲉⲓⲃⲏ** Ov. p. 48, l. 14.

separate the pure from the foul. For in the case of things that are literally mixed together, a separating hand is required to separate them like the skilful hand which separates with a fire the dross from the silver, and separates with a strainer the pure from the foul.

If Free-
will cannot
alter
visible
Evil, how
can it alter
spiritual
Evil, a
bound
Nature ?



But if they say that these Natures in which there is mixed an excrement have no Freewill whereby they may separate the Foulness from them, let us leave them a little. Even if we wander a little from our subject, let us go with them where they call us. For Truth on account of its strength goes wherever it is led as a victor, and where it is pressed towards a defeat, there it gains the better crown. Let us leave, therefore, the 'bound Natures' and let us come to 'the independent Minds'; let us see if the Wills of these men in whom there is Freedom can separate and send out of themselves the evil Ingredient, that by (the example of) the visible Mixing of the visible Evil we may believe that also the invisible Mixing of the invisible Evil can be separated. If there is a quantity of harmful poison or deadly phlegm in any of these men, let them tell us: will 'the blameless Conduct of Freedom' separate this Evil, or will drugs and medicinal roots? Does not this fact refute them (and convince them) that the harmfulness which I have mentioned cannot be separated by 'the righteousness of Freedom,' but by medicinal skill? If therefore, this small Evil which is mingled with us is not expelled from us by 'blameless Conduct,' but by the virtue of drugs, how can 'Commandments and Laws' separate that mighty and powerful Evil which is mixed in Souls? For, behold, as experience teaches us, (medicinal) virtue can separate from us even the Evil which we have mentioned¹ by means of skilful (medical) methods, and not by the 'Conduct of Freedom.' For if they talk such nonsense let no one hear those who would relate empty tales to foolish minds. For empty allegories are believed (only) by one whose mind is empty as regards the Truth.

Ov. p. 50,
l. 12.

Ov. p. 51.

The
proper
cure for
Evil if
it is a
poison.

If, therefore, that deadly Evil is mixed in mankind like a noxious poison let them hear the true reasoning with a healthy ear. Just as when a vessel of poison is filled up, an emptying is necessary by means of drugs that that poison may not overflow

¹ Read  for  p. 50, l. 24.

and produce in us pains and hurts ; so also when Evil is excessive in the Soul a discharge is necessary for it, either from month to month or from year to year. For, behold, just as poison becomes excessive in us from nutriment, so they say that " Evil collects and increases in us from Foods." If, therefore, the measure of the Evil of both kinds becomes excessive in us, it is clear that there must be a discharge and an emptying of the fullness. For, behold, it is also the case that when blood or phlegm increases in us (then) a discharge is necessary for them.

Those, therefore, who ought to expel Evil from mankind by a *visible* working, lo, they are purging away the sins of mankind by an *invisible* forgiveness. But though the sins of mankind do not depart from them they are added to those who (say that they) purge them sevenfold. For around their necks is hung the debt of sins for the pardon of which they have falsely gone surety. For also madness, though it does not depart from a dog which has gone mad, enters sevenfold into those who are bitten by the dog. But the disciples were commanded that they should shake the dust off their feet against whoever did not receive them, let us shake off the dust of our words against these who do not receive the Truth of our words. For if vengeance was ready to come for the dust of feet, how much more ready will vengeance be for the Truth of a word which is treated despitefully by him who hears !

Forgiveness is no cure for such Evil; much less vicarious forgiveness.

St. Matt. x. 11. Ov. p. 52.

But I wish to know this : is Freewill the cause of sins, or is Evil the fountain of sins ? But if it is Evil as they say, free Volitions cannot block up the springs of Evil. By what method then is the Evil made subject to our Will ? For, lo, when we wish, we stir it up in us to injure us, and when we will we keep it quiet within so that it cannot harm us. A plain demonstration refutes their obscure Teaching. For, behold, not even a fever within us is subject to our Will, so that when we wish it may rage and abate. If, therefore, this slight fever is not subject to our Freewill, who can make subject to our Freewill that great Evil about which they speak ? If that Evil made itself subject to us, there is nothing kinder than it, for it has made its great power subject to our weak Will. But if the power of Good makes Evil subject to us, it is clear that whenever it hurts us

If Freewill cannot alter fevers how can it subdue the Great Evil ?

that same Good stirs it up to hurt us. And, therefore, even if that Evil is evil because it hurts us, yet that which permits Evil to destroy us is more evil than it.

See how our Will is unable to alter the Nature of things.

Ov. p. 53, l. 2.

But we are not venturing to blaspheme against the Good, but (this is said) in order that by means of what is considered blasphemous, though it is not blasphemous, the blasphemy of madmen may perchance be refuted. For one cannot bring into

the way a man who is walking outside of the way, unless one goes a little from the way after him into the wilderness. See, then, that the Nature of things does not follow our Wills, but our Will goes after the Nature of Creation, in that we use them according to their natural adaptations (lit., as they are natural and for what they are natural). But if even fire is not cold or hot according to our Will, how is the fierce power of that Evil which possesses an Existence of its own made subject to the Will of those who are created? But Evil does not possess an Existence of its own, because Freewill possesses empire over itself. And fire always retains its hot nature, but Evil does not retain the nature of its being even as much as the fire which is a created thing. And, though we do not wish to be burnt, yet fire still acts according to its own nature, and when we go near it, it burns us. How then is that Evil, which is mixed in us, if it also has an injurious nature, able to injure us when our Will wishes to be injured? If our Will gives it power, then the wickedness of our Will is stronger than the wickedness of Evil; and according to their preposterous Teaching it is found that Evil is therefore accused by our Freewill because, as Freewill wishes, and in proportion as it wishes, Evil opposes it. And in vain do they blame Satan since their Will is more hateful than Satan. But if Evil can injure our Freewill whenever it (*i.e.*, our Freewill) wills to be injured, it is clear that they are calling Freewill Evil, though they are not aware of it. For fire which burns does not wait for Freewill to will or not to will, but it injures alike him who wills and him who does not will—both of them—if they approach it.

The Will cannot change the nature of fire:

But if they think "that our Will is able to conquer Evil," let us then dismiss the strife of Controversy, and let us come to actual experience. Let one of them stretch even the tip of his

little finger into the fire, and if his Will can conquer the power of the fire that it may not injure him, it will be possible to believe that the injurious nature of Evil can be conquered. But if the fire causes irritation and pain over the whole body when it has touched only our finger, how does that injurious Evil, since it is all mingled with the whole of us, not also injure us like the weak fire? If they say that He (*i.e.*, God) has not allowed us to conquer fire by our Freewill, who then granted them power over Evil to conquer it by means of their Freewill? But if another Good (Power) granted to Freewill the power of conquering Evil, all their blasphemy applies to Him Whom they praise. For all the censure is attached to that (Good One). For if He thus changed Evil so that it might not injure us like injurious fire, it is clear that He is also able to change any Evil that injures us at present that it may not injure us. But if He was unable, is our victory still certain? And let them persuade us (and show) how their Freewill conquers Evil when it cannot conquer fire. But whichever proof they may choose, they are fettered by the one they choose. If they say that because fire by its nature possesses heat on that account our Freewill is unable to conquer it, it is evident that Evil does not possess Freewill by nature; and on that account our Will is able to conquer it.

how can it
conquer
the Evil
Element?

Ov. p. 55.

But if the injurious and hot nature of fire, though it has been created and made, cannot be mitigated, how, seeing that Evil is an actual Existence, as they say, can the true nature of Existence be mitigated, seeing² that even (mere) things cannot mitigate one another or be mixed with one another unless they have an affinity so as to receive one another? And,³ if a thing cannot love its opposite, how did Evil, as they say, conceive a Passion for Good, and make an Assault on it and mingle with it? And how, too, did Good mingle with Evil and love it? And though teachers and law-givers summon it, it despises their counsels and makes void their laws, nor do the drawn swords of just judges frighten it to abstain from the hateful love which it has for the body which they call 'deadly,' and it hates and denies the

In any
case, how
can the
Willlessen
the evil
Element
except it
is akin to
the Evil?

¹ In Ov. p. 54, l. 15, ~~ⲉⲛ~~ must be wrong.

² Read probably ⲉⲛⲓⲛ for ⲉⲛ Ov. p. 55, l. 7.

³ Read ⲉⲛⲓⲛ for ⲉⲛⲓ Ov. p. 55, l. 10.

Rom. xi. 17 ff. good Source of its Nature, and loves to bring forth the evil fruit of the bitter Root into which it has been grafted for a while.

St. Matt. vii. 18. And how does the Word of the True¹ One convict (them), who says : there is no good tree which yields evil fruit ! For if the Soul is a good thing from a good Nature, how does it bear the evil fruit of the 'deadly Body' ? And how does the Body which they say springs from an evil Element bear good conduct like good fruit ?

They attribute incredible power to the Will. But it is possible for thee to hear, O Hearer, what is greater than this. For lo, when we will, the Evil in us may 'become lessened' and not injure us. And in the twinkling of an eye, again, if we will, it may be real and 'fierce' and 'deadly' in us. O Ov. p. 56, l. 3. what a great marvel is this, that is to say, O what great blindness (in the false Teaching) ! For see, that when we lessen the Evil in us we do not mix anything in it except the good Will alone, that it may be lessened. And when it (*i.e.*, Evil) revives and rages we do not mingle anything in it that it may rage except the evil Will. But if our Will lessens it or makes it worse, behold, is it not clear even to fools that our Will is good and evil ? Therefore they are alluding to Freewill when they use all these evil terms, and they are uttering blasphemies against this Will, though they are not aware of it. For if a man drinks diluted wine and mixes his good Will in it, can it acquire strength and become overpowering though he should mix no (more) wine in it ? And if, on the other hand, the wine is unmixed and strong, can he lessen its strength by his Will alone, though he mix no water in it ? Therefore, let them take their stand either on a Mixing or on the Will.

If our Will comes from the Good, why is it not refined, and sent up ? For if our Will lessens Evil, that statement is conquered whereby they say that Evil is mixed with Good, and behold (they say) "the Good is refined little by little." For behold our Will is in us always, and is not 'refined at all, nor does it go out from us.' For if our Will 'were being refined and going out,' our Will would have already come to an end, and it would not be possible for us to will rightly. And if our Will does not come to an end neither do Good and Evil. When,

¹ Read ~~ⲁⲓⲓⲓⲓ~~ for ~~ⲁⲓⲓⲓⲓ~~ Ov. p. 55, l. 20.

therefore, does the Refining and Separation of the two take place? And if there is a Refining of the Good by means of Good so that it goes up from the Depths to the Height, why is there not also a removal of Evil by means of Evil so that it may be sent down to its Depths?

But if they persist in holding this (theory of a) Mixing, that (explanation) fails inasmuch as by our Will we conquer Evil, and, therefore, instead of 'the Good Words' which they teach they ought to distribute good Parts that mankind may eat or drink them that those good Parts may enter and lessen the fierceness of Evil. For words do not lessen the bitterness of roots; but the (natural) acridness which is in a Nature is lessened by the (natural) sweetness which is in (another) element. For facts are not overcome by Words, nor by Expressions are Natures changed. For that Evil which exists independently, as they say, can be thrust out by means of some Good which also exists independently. For Power thrusts out Power and Substance is thrust out by Substance and Force is conquered by Force. Yet our (mere) Word cannot stir a stone without the hand, nor can our Will move anything without our arms. And if our Will is not able to move such insensible and helpless things, how can it vanquish the great Evil, seeing that a Power is required and not (mere) Will? For Light does not drive out Darkness by Will, nor by Free-choice does the sweet overcome the bitter. If, therefore, these Natures, because they are Natures, require a powerful Force and not a mere Will, how is it that the quality of Power, not (mere) Free-choice, is not required in the case of Evil and Good, if they have 'bound Natures'?

But if the Will does not lessen the Evil which is mixed with bitter and deadly roots, whereas Free-choice conquers this Evil of mankind, how can it be, if it is the very same Evil which is in mankind and in roots, that part of it is conquered by Force, and part by the Will? Either Evil is divided against itself, or there are two Evils which are unlike one another in their essence. And if part of the poison which exists in fruits and roots is 'amassed and collected in us' (and), if Evil is all one, how is part of it in us conquered by 'a Law and Commandment,' and part conquered (only) by mixtures and drugs? And Counsel and

The Manichæan religious formulæ cannot thrust out the power of Evil.

Moral and physical Evil cannot come from a single Essence.

Ov. p. 58, l. 7.

Cf. p. cxvi. ll. 2, 3.

Teaching are of no avail to counteract the poison in our bodies, nor are drugs and mixtures of any use for the Evil which is in our Souls. And here it is seen that the poison which is in us is a 'bound Nature,' and a Law cannot change it, and the Evil which is in our Souls belongs to Free-choice and (medicinal) Roots cannot lessen it. Though, therefore, there are many things which it is possible to say on these subjects, I do not wish to increase (their number), lest it should appear that we have conquered by means of many words, and not by true words. For we do not conquer with the weapons of Orators and Philosophers, whose weapons are their logical Teaching. For thanks be to Him Whose Teaching thus gains a victory by our child-likeness and His Truth by our simplicity without the Teaching of Philosophy.

THE END OF THE FIRST DISCOURSE AGAINST THE DECEITFUL
TEACHINGS.

THE SECOND (DISCOURSE) TO HYPATIUS AGAINST MANI AND MARCION AND BARDAISAN

Look¹ at this Teaching intelligently how it is destroyed by itself, and refuted by its own nature, and unmasked by its own character; its condemnation is from it and in it. And just as the very words of the servants gave the verdict against them before the Lord of the Vineyard, so also the very words of this Teaching give the verdict of their condemnation before wise Hearers.

The self-contradictions in Mani's Teaching.

For he has set a difficult beginning over against a confused ending, things which strive with one another that it may be known that not one of them is true. For at the beginning he said that the Darkness has a longing Passion for the Light; which is not natural for this Darkness which is visible, inasmuch as even this Darkness which is visible to us is, as they say, of the same nature as that which is invisible to us. Yet this Darkness certainly flees from before the Light as from its opposite, and certainly does not make an Assault upon it as upon what is pleasant to it. Behold one argument in favour of their condemnation, an argument drawn from the nature of things in general.

Darkness could not have had a passion for Light.

P. 2, 1. 3.

Hear, again, another argument against them from their scripture. If the Darkness verily longed passionately for the Light because the Light soothed it, how do they say that the Light is its opposite and finally its torturer? And if Light is an Element which is desirable and attractive to Darkness, how is there produced from that pleasant Nature something which is bitter to Darkness? For the sweetness of our place bears witness that bitterness is not tasted in its midst. But if that Prison-house,

Nor does Light finally imprison Darkness.

The Prison for Darkness not built

¹ For the Syriac Text of Discourse ii.-v., see pp. 1-185.

from the tormentor of Darkness, is built up from the Nature of the Domain of Darkness, a Nature cannot torture itself. For fire does not burn itself. And if the Darkness is tortured by what belongs to itself—a notion difficult to accept—then Good, too, is not at rest in its place, and the matter is found to be preposterous, (namely), that every Entity which is in its own place is in anguish, but in the place of its Opposite it is at rest. For if all Darkness altogether with all that is in it is one Entity all alike, it is not opposed to its own nature ; just as a wolf does not oppose itself nor a lion itself.

Nor from the Good Realm. How could Bân, the Architect and Builder of that Grave for Darkness? Cf. pp. xlvii., lxxv.

But if from the Domain of Good that Prison-house is built up for Darkness, how is its enjoyment changed to its torment ? For lo, it is a Nature which is unchangeably pleasant. "For the Architect and Builder of that Grave," as their account says, "is one—whosoever he may be, whose name is BÂN—who in the days of his adversity became the fashioner of the Grave of the Darkness." And how from that one Entity, since it is single, does there come both builder, and that which is built, and from it the Grave and from it the Earth on which the Grave is built ? For this is found (to be the case) with this earth of ours that everything comes from the earth itself, both he who makes and that which is made ; for since it was not created out of Natures and Entities it is changeable into anything as the word of the Maker commands. But if all those things are one Nature and from one good Entity, how can it be divided up ? And how when that Nature is cut does it not suffer ? And do not they who are not even willing to break bread lest "they pain the Light which is mixed with it," pain it in cutting and hewing these Stones ; and if the Light suffers in the breaking of bread, how much more does it suffer in the cutting and hewing of its members ! And if it be an Earth in which there is no sensation, and they be Stones in which there is no feeling, how is it that, though it is one Nature and one Entity, from it there come speaking Souls and also deaf-mute Stones ? Therefore, there is not one homogeneous Essence, but many unlike one another. And if on account of their mute condition, they do not feel when they are cut, behold also this Light being of the same nature is mingled with these things in a mute condition.

P. 3, l. 9.

P. 4, l. 5.

If the stones for the Prison come from the Light-Realm they must suffer when cut.

(f. p. xxxv. l. 32.

Why, therefore, do they not break and cut them, seeing that this P. 5.
(Light) does not feel? But if they do not cut it lest they should
pain it, with their teeth they cause it to suffer much more when
they eat it, and with their bellies when they confine it there.

But if he who framed the Body is evil, as they blasphemously On Mani's
say—and this God forbid, it is not so—if the Darkness contrived doctrine
to frame that Body to be a Prison-house for the Soul that it might that the
not go forth thence, it would not be difficult for him to know Body was
from this that the refining Furnace which he framed injured him made by
and refines the Light. But if it escaped his notice at the beginning the Evil
he could, now that experience has taught him, destroy his framing One.
and make another Body, not one that separates (the Light), but
one that imprisons; not one that refines, but one that befouls;
not one that purifies, but one that defiles; and not one that makes
room for the Light (to escape), but one that detains the Light.
If this making of the Body really belongs to him (*i.e.*, the Evil
One), then his work convinces us concerning him that he is a wise
and skilful Maker, he who might have made vessels alien to the
Cleansing of the Light. But if he might have made them so P. 6.
and yet did not so make them, his workmanship is sufficient
to extol him and to put to shame those who falsely accuse him.

Now wise physicians prove to us—and the limbs with the If the
veins bear them witness—that the power of food pervades the Soul has
the body. But if the Light is refined little by little and goes out, it the same
is clear that it is a Nature which is dissolved and scattered. nature as
And so if the Soul is of the same nature, how does it too not go Light, it
out in the Refining? For it must be that the Nature of the would be
Soul itself is capable of dissolution just as the Nature of Light 'refined
is. How is it that the Light goes cut while the Soul remains? and sent
and who gave to the Soul this indissoluble fixity? If this belongs up' as the
to its nature, how is this Element partly fixed and partly not, Light.
partly dissolvable and capable of being scattered, partly fixed
and massed together? For if the Nature was a fixed one from
its beginning, the Sons of Darkness when they ate it—if they ate
it—would not be able to dissolve its Nature. For just as
they could not annihilate its Being so that it should no longer be
in existence—for lo, it is in existence—so they would be unable
to dissolve the fixity of its Being. These statements, then, can P. 7.

be made without examination, but on examination they cannot stand.

How could
the Evil
One fix
the Soul in
the Body?

And if they say that that Evil One fixed the Soul in the midst of the Body, in order that it might be imprisoned, how then did he not fix that Light, which is 'refined and goes out,' so that it could not go out? And how did he fix a Nature which is incapable of being fixed? For who is able to fix the Nature of fire to prevent its being divided in the flame of a lamp? And although fire is amassed, it can be divided because it has not a fixed nature. But a ray of the sun a man cannot divide because it is fixed through and through in an indissoluble nature. But, if by reason of the entrance of the Soul into the Body which can be confined, that (Soul) was confined which was not confined (before), how is it that that Light, which, they say, is 'refined and departs,' was not confined along with its kinsman who was confined there (in the Body)? And if it has self-knowledge because it is collected together and fixed, it is clear that those Parts which are not fixed are deaf-mutes without knowledge, and silent without speech, and quiet without motion.

P. 8.

On Bardaisan's teaching that the Soul is composed of seven Constituents.

And it is in this connection that Bardaisan, the teacher of Mani, is found to speak with subtlety, when he said that of seven Parts the Soul was composed and fixed; though he is refuted as well. For the numerous Parts which the Soul gathers and collects, make (possible) many a mixing of the seven Parts without proper regulation. And because it does not receive in equal weight from all the foods the Parts of all the Constituents, it may happen that the scale of one of the Constituents may preponderate and overwhelm the rest of its companions; and this abundance of one is the cause of the disturbance of all the Constituents. And from the Body which is without it is possible to learn about the Soul which is within. (namely), that whenever one of its Constituents preponderates on account of the quantity of one of the foods, the injury reaches the whole system. But the spiritual character of Angels proves that their nature receives nothing more; and not only are those holy beings exalted above this, but even in the case of unclean devils their nature receives no addition to and suffers no loss from what it actually is; nor is the nature of the sun ever more or less than

P. 9.

what it is. For these things, and those that are like them, are perfect Natures, since at all times the (true) balance of their natural character is maintained. But when anything has either too little or too much, either increases or diminishes, either is lessened or grows weak, its nature is destructible by its creation ; though even over those Natures which are not destructible there rules that Will which made them indestructible. But we have not come to stir up now the mire of Bardaisan ; for the foulness of Mani is quite sufficient. For behold our tongue is very eager to conclude at once and flee from him. But if those Natures which were mentioned above are perfect though made, how much more must the (Eternal) Essence be perfect in its Being !

This doctrine of madmen, then, proclaims an Existence which is deficient in everything, and this its deficiency refutes those who proclaim it. For they have put together two Roots with preposterous reasoning, but they are dissolved with straightforward reasoning. For if a statement is made without knowledge, it is rectified by sound knowledge ; and whoever puts on contentiousness is stripped bare by the persuasive arguments of Truth. For they have professedly set forth two Roots, though on investigation it is found that there are many. For he introduces births and generations which are the opposite of one another. But, that though this Entity is one, there should be from it births (which are) the opposite of its nature—this is not pleasing to the ear of Truth. For how can that Element bring forth anything foreign to itself ? In the case of creation from nothing, this can be ; but in the case of a ‘ bound essential Nature ’ there is no (such) means ; above all (it is impossible), when it (*i.e.* the Nature) is one and other Entities are not mixed with it.

The absurdity of Mani's teaching about two 'Roots.' P. 10, l. 5.

For how can they produce offspring unlike themselves ?

He has set forth, therefore, an Entity which is immortal though the children whom it brings forth from itself are mortal. And whence did mortality spring up in the fruit though it was not mixed in the root from which it came ? And how does a Nature which is not composite bring forth bodies which are composite, which have been confined and killed ?

Or mortal beings spring from an immortal Element ? P. 11.

Thou hast heard this foolishness ; come hear one that is greater still. “ When the Primal Man,” he says, “ hunted the Sons of Darkness he flayed them, and made this sky from their

Mani's Teaching about the making of the World.

skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and some of their bones, too, he melted, and raised and piled up the mountains,"—we thank him that his falsehood is revealed—"since there is in them, a Mixture and a Mingling of the Light which was swallowed by them in the beginning." For his sole purpose in stretching them out and arranging them was, that by means of the rain and dew whatever was swallowed by them might be purged out, and that there might be a Separation and Refining of the Natures from one another.

If it were true, the Maker would be foolish or inexperienced.

O how foolish a workman was this! But perhaps he was a learner, who had not yet reached experience in workmanship. For if there had been wine (to purify) would he not have known how to make a strainer? And if there had been silver or copper (to refine), would he not have known how to arrange a furnace?

P. 12, l. 4.

For by means of these instruments which the wisdom of mortals has contrived, the dregs can easily be separated from the pure and the dross from the silver. But this workman, even after many years, has not acquired intelligence nor after innumerable experiments has he been able to know what is necessary for his workmanship, that is to say, how to employ such compendious¹ methods. But he made the sky a strainer which is useless all summer, and even in winter it does not refine every day; but in the remote south it is not even a little moistened. Very stupidly arranged, too, is the hollow of this filter; for if what is pure descends to the earth, then the dregs are left above in the sky. And this performance is the reverse of the right one, in that the pure descends to the bodily sphere while the dregs remain behind in the spiritual sphere.

But as for the other statements, how and what they say about the Snow, as they are quite futile, let them be gathered within a covering of silence.

Mani teaches that the whole of creation 'refines.'

"Moreover," (he says) "he (*i.e.*, Primal Man) made trees to be Furnaces." Yet they do not at all times separate fruit from the dust and their produce from the soil; and also cornfields (are said to be furnaces); and yet they do not continually draw up life from the earth. And if, as they teach, a Refining goes

¹ Or perhaps "easy," "obvious." See note on p. 12.

up from the offal of the Archons, then the greater part of that swallowed Light is going forth by means of the offal of the Archons who swallowed it. Such is the polluted teaching which refines the Parts of its God from the midst of offal!

But if, as some of them say, just as a serpent has a Sheath-skin, so out of the Sheath-skins of the Sons of Darkness the sky and the earth and the rest of created things were made, let them know that the proof which they offer stands against them. For there cannot be lifeless Sheath-skins from things which in their nature are immortal. For as the lifeless Sheath-skin of the serpent convinces any one that the serpent also is mortal, and in like manner divisible, capable in like manner of being disintegrated and destroyed. And as the Sheath-skin of the serpent proves that its nature is destructible, so also the Sheath-skin of Darkness proves that Darkness is mortal too. For a thing that is derived from an Existence is like it in every respect. Therefore, whether they were Sheath-skins, or real hides, the case is the same.

But if the Sons of Darkness were skinned and stretched in the air, they give evidence that Darkness, their Father, is also mortal because he is composite. Why, therefore, did they not skin him, too, in the beginning and deliver creation from his injuries? What necessity could there be that he should be left alive, and what reason¹ was there in his case that he should remain and turn again to struggle with pure souls? . . . And after he has 'intoxicated' and perverted and put them to shame, after he has made some of them fornicators and minstrels and blasphemers, then that wise Builder and Architect has sense enough to frame a Grave and Prison for him. And instead of the Prison-house being thus built after a long period, and with much toil, if the Sons of Light had been gathered together and with these Stones had stoned him, then, lo, he would have come to an end. But if he would not have died, because his nature is not mortal, then this impure Teaching is put to shame in everything it says. For how did the sons of the immortal die, and how were the sons of a spiritual one skinned, and how were those

On Manichæan principles the Archons and their skins are alike mortal.

P. 14.

Why was the Father of the Archons left alive and imprisoned?

Cf. p. lxxiii.

Cf. p. xxx. l. 14.

P. 15.

Cf. p. xxx. l. 32.

¹ Or perhaps "indulgence." See note on p. 14.

Mani himself was skinned. who are not composite disintegrated? And they did well who skinned the lying Mani, who said that Darkness was skinned, though it has neither hide nor Sheath-skin.

The Manichaean teaching about the Moon is impossible. Cf. pp. xxxviii. ll. 27, 127; xlii. l. 11. P. 16.

If, moreover, as they say, "the Moon receives the Light which is refined, and during fifteen days draws it up and goes on emptying it out for another fifteen days," if she is filled very gradually till the time of full moon, it may well be because there are not sufficient Refiners to give the Light at once, but why, pray, is it that she empties the Light *little by little*? Either the Receiving-Vessels do not receive and let it go at once, or the place into which she empties it is small and there is room for only a part daily. And while for fifteen days that Ship of Light seeks to empty out (the Light), where, pray, does that other Light, which is 'being refined and is going up,' go and collect and exist while the Moon is being emptied? It must wander about and be lost for lack of a place to receive it; and so Darkness swallows it once more. For if it 'sucked in the Light' when it was far from it in the beginning, will it not gulp it down all the more, now that the Light exists at the very door of its mouth?

Cf. pp. xlii. l. 16; lxxxv. l. 4; lxxxix. l. 26.

How foolishly Mani's 'Director' has arranged the Moon's function!

But understand how foolish that Director is. For, instead of (the arrangement) which would have been right, namely that the Moon should go and empty out (the Light) in one hour and return so that that former Light which was emptied out might be preserved, and that latter Light which is being refined might not be lost, (instead of an arrangement such as this), behold, the Moon is worn out with going and coming, and at full moon it is then emptied in such a way that the former Light is worn out and the latter scattered. Now a woman is with child for a long time, since her babe is developed after nine months. But when her labour is easy, the birth takes place in a single hour, and thus the child is not in much torment, nor is the mother much exhausted. But in the case of the bright and lightly-moving Moon, at the time of full moon her child is produced in such a way that she is worn out and her child exhausted. And if she brings forth each offspring in a day, can she not also bring forth as the scorpion in one day? And if she really empties it out she should be there as long as she is emptying. Why is she worn out with coming

P. 17.

(and going), though she takes nothing hence till the time of full moon ?

And how is it that from eternity to eternity this Ship of Light is filled uniformly and receives neither more nor less ? But this contrivance was not a wise one. For it would be right that, at the time when the Refining is great, the Moon should receive more, that is to say, instead of being filled till the time of full moon, it would be right that she should be filled in five days. For if their statement were true, it would be right that what I have said should be the case. For to-day there is much of Mani's Teaching, and so it is clear there is also much Refining ! But as a hundred years ago, this Teaching did not exist—would that it did not now—it is evident that the Refining of Light a hundred years ago would be less than it is to-day. And if the Refining of Light was not the same in amount then and now, how was the Moon then and now uniformly filled till full moon ? And when the Refiners were few in number, there was not less Light for the Moon, nor to-day when the Manichæans abound is there any Light added to it. But when there were no Manichæans, and when they are now in existence, there is no increase in the Moon to-day though they exist, just as there was no lessening in the Moon when they did not exist. So by the Moon, fixed in the Height which they have made as a mirror for themselves, it is possible for that secret falsehood of theirs to be brought to light. For if the existence and non-existence of the Manichæans are alike to the Moon, the lying Teaching is refuted by what is peculiarly its own, in that its existence is on a level with its non-existence. And if they do not exist for the Moon, for which they imagine they do now exist in a very special way, they do not in a very special way exist for God the Lord of the Moon. Thus from the Luminaries they receive a special refutation who imagine that they are recognised by the Luminaries. And, in fact, does not the reasoning of arithmeticians¹ convince them that when those who persuade are many, much more do those that receive measure out ; and when there are many floods the rivers are filled above their limits and rise beyond their wont ?

How is the amount of Light received by the Moon always the same ?

Mani's teaching has not aided the Refining.

P. 18, l. 31.

P. 19.

¹ Or "of arithmetic." See note on p. 19.

The lunar month of 29½ days opposes Mani's view about the Moon.

And why, indeed, is there a Moon for twenty-nine days and a half? Let the false Teaching which disguises itself offer a proof on this point by means of a natural demonstration. But let us strip it that it may appear bare without any truth. Let them tell us, therefore, concerning this part of a day why it is defective and not completed; is there no superfluous Light in any of the months, so that the deficiency for this day may be filled up? But when it (*i.e.*, the day) is defective it is not finished, and if there is superfluous Light (?) it is not completed. And if on account of the small amount of Light that day is imperfect, there would be a chance that other days too would be imperfect. And in like manner when the Light increased, it would be right that the days should be found increasing as well. The shortage of Light, however, does not make any lessening in the Moon, nor does the increase of Light fill up this defective part. So let this defective part of a day convict the Heretics that they are altogether lacking in truth.

P. 20.

The Manichaean teaching about the Sun.

And because Truth quickly refutes them, when it passes from dealing with the Moon to the Sun . . . that it may refute by the pair of Luminaries those who while they worship Luminaries are persons whose intelligence is wholly dark. For just as he is enlightened who worships the Lord of the Luminaries, so is he darkened who exchanges the worship of their Lord for the worship of the Luminaries. Let us, therefore, state the case as they state it, though we shall not maintain it as they maintain it. For they say that the Sun receives the Light from the Moon; right worthy¹ are these Receiving-Vessels which receive from one another! And is there then no room in the Sun to receive all those Parts in one day from the Moon? But, perhaps, the Sun might receive it, but the Moon is unable to give it; and behold with whatever load she has, she must hurry along and fling off some of the weight she is carrying. How, again, does the Sun not show that there has been some addition to his Light when he receives fifteen Parts of refined Light? For, behold, the Moon is clearly marked even by one Part which is added every day, just as she shows when she is lessening. Is the sun then a

Cf. p. xxxvi. l. 10.

xlii. l. 11.

P. 21.

¹ An ironical exclamation.

vessel not completely filled ? And how is its deficiency invisible ? And if it is not deficient how does it receive ? For if it is complete and its cavity is full of its Light—as it is in reality—(then know that) if thou pourest anything more into a vessel that is already full, it does not receive it ; for anything that falls into it overflows. But this full object (*i.e.*, the Sun) which does not receive anything which the Manichæans assert (to exist), by its appearance calls us not to accept anything from the Manichæans.

Let us forsake then those doctrines of the Manichæans, because they are the only witnesses concerning them, and let us hear those of Moses, to which all nations under Heaven bear witness, and in old time the Hebrews who reckoned according to the Moon, and after them all nations who are called Barbarians, and also the Greeks, who use the reckoning of the Sun, though they do not desert the reckoning of the Moon. And, therefore, even if we prolong our discourse, let us declare what is numbered by Sun-reckoning and what by Moon-reckoning. Days are numbered by Sun-reckoning. For the dawning and darkness are indicated by the Sun. Behold the division of the day. But by the Moon the months are indicated. For the beginning of the months and end of the months are indicated by the Moon. For it is by the rising of the Sun and the setting of the Sun that the days are divided. But in the matter of months it makes no division, because its succession goes on uniformly, and does not declare any division when thirty days are ended, that it may be known by that division that the month has ended, or begun. But the Moon, when it is full and wanes, makes a division for the months, but makes no division for the days. For how often does it happen that the Moon rises at the third or fourth hour, and sets at the seventh or ninth hour ; while for two whole days she is not seen at all. God, in His wisdom who, indeed, ordered the months for the purpose of reckoning and the days for the purpose of numbering, made the Sun to number the days, as also the Moon to number the months, and as the day is completed in its course, so the Moon also is completed in its months, and from its beginning to its end the Moon produces thirty days. But if the day consists of twelve hours, and the Sun moves through a course of twelve hours, it is clear that the Sun is the fount of days. And, again,

The Mosaic narrative gives the true purpose of the Sun and Moon.

P. 22, l. 22.

The Sun marks the days not the months.

The Moon marks the months not the days.

P. 23, l. 2.

if the month consists of thirty days and the Moon completes thirty days in waning and waxing, it is clear that the Moon is the mother and parent of the months.

Their inexactness in dividing time shows that the Luminaries are deficient and not worthy of worship.

But the exact reckoning is twenty-nine days and a part. For this also in the beginning the Wisdom of the Creator (both) put together and ordered the numberings that it might perfect the reckoning. For when the months are reckoned by, numbering [*they have*] thirty days. But the eleven days which are after the months he did not put in their right place, and why not? And, wherefore are eleven days lacking in the Moon, and why are there three hours more in the year in the course of the Sun? They are these three excellent Mysteries (?), as the numbering is interpreted, and the reckoning explained, so that because of the lack which exists in the Moon months are intercalated, and because of the excess which exists in the Sun days are intercalated in order that since months and days are intercalated this Luminary may be abased, and the sovereignty of God may be made known. For because many nations go astray in the matter of them (*i.e.*, the Luminaries) on account of their Light, let their numbering convince them (*i.e.*, the nations) that on account of their dependence it is not right that they should be worshipped.

P. 24, l. 21.

For if the numbering of the Sun is not arranged (with exactness) the course of the Moon (also) by its swiftness and deficiency changes the seasons of the year, so that summer is turned to winter, and winter to summer. And if again a deficiency is not found in the Moon, which is dependent on the fullness from the Sun, as for these three superfluous hours which are in the Sun there is no place for them (in which) to go and remain in the numbering and reckoning of the year. For in the perfect days of the three hundred and sixty-five days, where may three superfluous hours enter and exist, (those hours) which cannot be reckoned with the perfect number of the months, and do not exist in the perfect number of the days? But between the months of the Moon and the numbering of the days of the Sun, the Lord of the Luminaries arranged for them a place that they may go and rest in it. But we have spoken this rapidly because we were not called to speak of these matters; but we were compelled to speak

P. 25.

(of them) in order to refute those who wish to turn aside the Luminaries from the service of the months and days, that they may point out in them Refinings which go up from the earth.

And inasmuch as the Moon seems to be made for the numbering of thirty days, and consists altogether of these parts, when the thirty days come to an end, it (itself) ceases to exist. For it is not one thing and its Light another thing. And because "the Moon is a vessel into whose midst thê Light is poured," even if that Light¹ were lacking, the vessel itself as regards its own nature with (*i.e.*, in proportion to) the aforesaid² Light, would not be able to come to an end or increase, since all vessels give evidence that they themselves exist in their natural size, and if there falls into them a greater amount the vessels do not grow larger. and if less falls into them, they do not shrink. And if anything that is in them is emptied out and vanishes, those vessels themselves do not vanish. And since they call the Moon the Ship of Light, let a demonstration come forth from a ship to refute them, (namely), when it is filled or emptied it remains in its proper size, that is to say (in the real proportion) of its length and breadth and height. But in the case of this Ship of Light, which, they say, is in the heavens, the Light which is poured into it or emptied from it is visible to us, but the Ship itself is not visible; either let them then tell us the nature of the vessel, that we may know that for this purpose it was arranged that it might be filled and emptied as they say; or let them tell us if that vessel itself is filled and built up and rises, and is completed and demolished and comes down. It is evident even to blind men who do not see that the Moon is made for the numbering of the months, and is not for a Refining.

And if they say that because the Moon is very 'pure and ethereal,' therefore, it is not visible, then how is the Sun visible, seeing that it is a Light purer and more refined than the Moon? And it is the Sun that goes and comes every day on account of its purity to the House of Life, as they say.

If the Moon is a vessel how can the vessel itself wax and wane?

P. 26, l. 9.

P. 27.

The purity of the Moon and Sun.

Cf. p. lxxxiv.

¹ The words *rima qur*, p. 26, l. 8, should probably be struck out.

² With this use of *mlt* compare *mlt mlty mōzōw*, "but in the days of the aforesaid Pērōz" (Joshua Stylites, ed. Wright, p. 11, l. 9).

Con-
trasted
views of
Bardaisan
and Mani
about the
Moon.

And which view shall we hear, that of Bardaisan, who says about the Moon that it is an Earth and a Matrix which is filled from a high and lofty overflow and floods those who are below and beneath, or that of Mani, who says that the Moon is filled with those who come from beneath and sends (them) away to the Upper Places? But they both are wrong in both respects, so that the word of Moses may be believed who said concerning the Luminaries, 'they shall be for signs and for seasons, etc.'

P. 28.

Mani's
teaching
about the
Lumin-
aries and
Disgorg-
ings is
ludicrous.

But who will not laugh at the words of children, that the Luminaries have finally become the Receiving-Vessels¹ of the School of Mani, and² not of anything which is great, but of Disgorgings! For by these the Light is refined if it is refined. For there is no evidence that it is refined by Prayer as they say, but that (it is refined) by Disgorgings its taste gives evidence. And if not, let them pray and disgorge, and let incontrovertible experience show in which of them is the taste of food, in Prayer or in Disgorgings! But above all there is evidence that he who disgorges looks upwards in order to send upwards by means of the force and violence of the wind that thing which is refined to the Domain from which it has come down. And, perhaps, this Mystery was secretly in the world, and the world did not perceive it! And, perhaps, even Mani did not perceive it. And here it is not the man who prays much who is refined, but the man who disgorges much. For those physicians by means of things which are very different excite Disgorgings in order to purge (?) the stomach which does not digest. For when it does not disgorge there comes the evidence of its (*i.e.*, the food's) heaviness and coldness. And it must be that if it does not digest, it does not liquefy, and if it does not liquefy, it (*i.e.*, the stomach) does not disgorge, and if it does not disgorge, it does not go forth; and if it does not go forth, it is not refined. For the coldness shuts up the food heavily there, that is to say, the cold phlegm, which is over the food—the great enemy of the School of Mani. For it wishes by its coldness to restrain the Refining, lest it (*i.e.*, the food) should be released, and go forth thence. And, therefore,

P. 29.

¹ Cf. pp. xxxvi. l. 10, xxxviii. l. 27.

² Read **ⲗⲉ** for **ⲙⲗⲉ**, p. 28, l. 7.


that pungent radish¹ can be the enemy of their enemy; for it enters and does combat, and as it were, engages in a contest with it, and rends the veil which is spread over the face of the food; and then a way is opened up for the imprisoned Light which is there that its Refining may go forth in the Disgorging.

And thus when the Manichæans disgorge, because their food has not yet been digested, it is clear² that their Refining has not yet 'gone up,' and we must say that their Light is still mixed in their vomit, and it would be right for them to turn and swallow it anew in order that that Light which is concealed in it may not abide in corruption. Above all if (?) a dog comes and swallows it behold that Light which has gone forth in vomit from the midst of a Manichæan called a Righteous one (ZADDĪQĀ), has entered and become imprisoned in the unclean stomach of a dog, [*and it is clear*] that if the Manichæan had turned and swallowed his vomit immediately, there would have been an ascent to the Height for the imprisoned Light to fly away and 'go up' to the House of its Father. And that Manichæan ought to be tormented instead of it (*i.e.*, the Light), because he knew (?), and (yet) that Light went in and was imprisoned in the belly of the dog, and thence it was sent forth by a Transmigration (?) when the dog produced young; and that Light was transmitted in the race of mad dogs and biters; and it must be mad like them, and bite like them. It is right, too, that it should bite and tear in pieces that Manichæan who disgorged it and did not swallow it again; for he is the cause of this madness. But if they say that in a dog too it is refined, then are dogs more than they are in the Refining-process, and it is right that they should be fed more than they. P. 30.

And if they say that the air 'is refined and sent up,' they confess, though they do not wish it, that not by Prayer is it refined, but by other causes, such as either dry or boil or heat or cool. For if, as they say, 'that pleasant taste which is in foods belongs to the Light which is mixed in them,' then just as the mouth perceives that Pleasantness of the Light when it

The Refining of air and foods cannot be true.

¹ The radish is said by the native Arabic authorities to produce disagreeable belchings (see the *Lisān-al-'Arab*, xiv. 29, 19).

² Read , p. 30, l. 1 (first word).

enters so it ought again to perceive it when it goes out. For if the mouth perceived it when it entered, though it was mixed with Bitterness, how much more ought the mouth to perceive it when it goes out, when its Pleasantness has been separated and isolated! But if it perceives it when it enters, but when it goes out in the Refining-process it does not perceive it, it is clear that the Pleasantness belongs not to the Element which is refined, but to its Opposite. For a thing that is palpable and capable of being tasted when it enters must be palpable and capable of being tasted when it goes out. But if they tell additional falsehood, they incur additional exposure. If they say that because the Light has been made very subtle and has been 'refined,' on that account the mouth does not perceive it, then by this short utterance their whole system is utterly upset as to the manner in which the Primitive Darkness, not merely 'seized' that Primitive Light, but also 'felt, touched, ate, sucked, tasted, and swallowed it.' For behold this mouth (of ours) is of the same nature as that Darkness, and it certainly does not perceive the Light when it goes out from within it. And here all this falsehood of theirs is felt because a sound ear meets it.

P. 32.

Cf. pp.
xxxvi. l.
17; lxxxv.
l. 4;
lxxxix.
l. 26.

Why is
the
Refined
Light so
gradually
sent up
to its
Place?

P. 33, l. 7.

For this Refining which goes out of the mouth is not completely refined; therefore, it goes from the mouth to the Moon, and from the Moon to the Sun, to be refined, and to be as it was of old. For if it is refined and not dependent on the Refining of the Moon, why is it necessary that it should go to the Moon, and from the Moon to the Sun, and (why does it) not flit away outside and go up, and be taken up to its place? For it abides here in idleness for fifteen days while the Moon is being emptied, and then it suffices for thirty days.

Or is it possible that it forgot the way to its Home? And how did it know to go, because it did not know the way? . . . [then how does one (i.e., the Moon) know how to go, and does not lose its way, while the other (i.e., the Refined Light), loses itself and requires a helper to conduct¹ it? Such easily lost Light would not be able even to find its way to the Moon, but it would require a

¹ Read *ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ*, p. 33, l. 22.

helper to conduct¹ it, and deposit it in the Moon. But if they are both (i.e., the conducting Moon, and the Refined Light) one Nature, how does one draw² while the other is drawn ?]

And how do the Sons of the Omniscient not know how to go to their House from which they came ? And who can have patience with these (men) ?—unless it be the truth that He delights in their repentance, He whose sole object in refuting these (men) is that they may not thus go astray. If, therefore, this (Light) which goes out of the mouth—inasmuch as taste implies an Exhalation and a Mingling—is so ‘pure and subtle’ in its going forth from the mouth, (that) the mouth does not perceive it since it is refined, and is more refined and pure than before the Mixing and Mingling, how is the turbid Darkness able to handle that pureness which is not palpable, or how can the corporeal seize the spiritual which is intangible, or how can the bodily eat a thing which has no body ? For either the Darkness is ‘pure and refined, and subtle,’ and that Light is gross in its nature, or they are both subtle, or (both gross) . . . (so that) the two of them do not perceive one another, so that as they were³ perceived in the food, they may be perceived in the Refining. And if they are both light, whence is this heaviness ? And if they are pure turbidness has entered from some other place. And, therefore, it is necessary that we should seek some other Entity who himself disturbed the two of them. . . .

But if that Light (?) had been God, if he was good or just, it would have been incumbent on his Goodness and Justice to surround his place with a strong wall, and preserve his freedom and honour from his unclean Enemy and from his raving Neighbour, especially when the Good (Being) had perceived that his nature was capable of being injured, as they say—though God forbid that this should be said concerning the perfect Good! But if in their shame they turn and say that it is not injured, then whom do they teach—is it not one who is in error ? And whom do they heal—is it not one who is smitten ? And whom do they teach the creed—is it not one who denies and

L. 35.

S. Luke
xv. 7, 10.

P. 34.

Why did
not
the Good
Being
protect
his posses-
sions
from the
assaults of
his Evil
neigh-
bour ?

P. 35, l. 30.

¹ Read *ⲁⲓⲁⲃⲁ*, p. 33, l. 33.

² Read *ⲁⲓⲁ*, p. 33, l. 31, and *ⲁⲓⲁⲃⲁ*, l. 32.

³ Read *ⲁⲓⲁⲃⲁ* p. 34, l. 30.

blasphemes? For these evils with innumerable others happened, and are happening to the Souls which (come) from him. And if they are not from him, and are in his Domain it was incumbent upon him as one who is wise and loves his possessions to place a protecting wall around his flocks which were capable of being injured.

See how
God has
protected
Heaven
from
mankind
and to
their ad-
vantage!

Gen. viii.

P. 36, l. 22.

But in these matters a convincing argument may be drawn from this creation which has been arranged by a wise Creator, for, because he knew that mankind (would) presume with their Freewill and attempt by their free Choice to set a limit to creation . . . because they are not able to set a limit to creation—for Constraint does not permit them—they have attempted to set a limit to the Creator by Disputation; just as also they wished to build a Tower by which they might go up whither an ascent should not be made. For the ladder to that Height is the grace of the Creator, nor in thousands or myriads of years would they be able to go up to that Height whither Elijah went up in the twinkling of an eye. For a tower does not enable (us) to ascend to Heaven, because it is the Will of the Lord of the Heaven that enables (us) to ascend to Heaven. Therefore, in order that kings at the present time might not be bold like those of old He placed them in the midst of a creation which cannot be overcome. For (should they wish) to go up above, there are the outstretched heights immeasurable,—to go down beneath, there are the terrible impalpable depths,—to cross the ends (of the earth), there are bitter illimitable seas, and these [*things He did, not because He was afraid on His own account—He who is not capable of being injured—but He made the heaven strong¹ against our boldness that it may not wear itself out in vain and fruitless efforts*]. And if the creation is so protected against weak mankind it would be much more right that the Domain of the Good (Being) who actually exists should be fortified against terrible enemies. For as the Lord of the Domain is perfect in his Essence, so it is right also that his Domain be fashioned aright, and his building fortified, and it would be right that that building should be protected with a strong² wall.

L. 11.

The
Realm of
the Good
Being
ought to
have been
protected
likewise.

¹ Read **سهم**, p. 37, l. 7 (last word).

² Read **سهيلا**? (see p. 35, l. 13) for **سهيلا**, p. 37, l. 29.

But the Domain lacks a wall, and its lord lacks reasoning. Without a wall he is 'imperfect.' And if he did not fortify it with a . . . wall, he would be lacking in it; how shall we call him God who is even more deficient than mankind? For there is no one who does not make doors and bars for his house; or do they perchance argue in answer to this, that there should not be walls for a city, and a fortress for a place of escape, and a castle for . . . a hedge for a vineyard, an enclosure for a flock? And which of the Manichæan is there who does not shut his door or the door of his place of Assembly? But closed doors are here . . . on account of that injury. . . . And if a robber came against Mani in the open country,¹ and against his disciples, would they not take refuge in a fortress, and hide in a castle and enter within walls? But I think that they are wiser than their Father (*i.e.*, the Good Being) who, they say, is a God. For they understand how to make these things though they are clothed with the disturbing Body; but their Father who is not clothed with the polluting Body, does not know how to make these things in his own Domain. And if the School of Mani do not flee before a robber, and do not take refuge in citadels or walls, let us ask, is it because their Bodies cannot be injured? And if they are looking forward to this, (namely), to be killed and to escape from the Body, and so do not need a wall, above in the House of their Father there would be a special necessity for walls that they might not be mixed with the vile Body. For owing to the lack of walls, of which they had none, the Darkness swallowed them and mixed them in this Body, and while they are expecting (?) to escape from it by means of a sword, which, moreover, is not really the case, they would have escaped from it by means of walls.

And suppose a man says there were no stones, where ² was that great Earth from which *BÂN*, the Builder, cut whole stones for the Grave of the Darkness? And where is blindness such as this . . . [*that in a place where*³ *there existed this Graver and graven materials, and where there was all this Working, and where there was*

¹ Read perhaps *קיסוס* for *קניסוס*, p. 38, l. 17.

² Read *קצק* for *קק*, p. 39, l. 18.

³ Read *קצק* for *קק*, p. 39, l. 35.

P. 38.
—l. 16.
If the Manichæans practice non-resistance, they do so that they may be killed and escape from the Body.

P. 38.
A wall would have prevented their being mixed with the vile Body.

(cf. pp. xxx., lxxv.)
They cannot say that there were no materials to build the wall.

*this Wise Disciple and Architect of its Grave who stretched the line and weighed out axes (?) and set the rules, and devised a plan,*¹ *where there was all this*], was there not found a single one to give advice that they should receive it and preserve their Domain? And lo, they (would) have escaped from the ten thousand evils which encompass them to-day.

Darkness would not leave its natural Domain as Mani taught.

But if they talk foolishly against these things, against all propriety they are debating so that only those things that are not proper may be proclaimed. And if they are thus puffed up though in Error (it is) as if they had found out something true; for it has escaped the notice of the Heretics that they have discovered (only) Error; but they by their Freewill have been dis-

P. 40, l. 10.

covered by it according to its will. And because of the proud who have exalted themselves, let us diverge (lit., creep) a little from our Examination, and let us disregard them on the one side that they may be defeated rightly on the other. For it would never be pleasant for the Darkness to depart from its Domain, because every Entity which exists is contented if it is in its own place—because that is the place which belongs to its nature—as fish are in water, as moles in sepulchral vaults,² as moths in clothing, as worms in wood, as maggots in barns, as swallows in places frequented by man, as an owl in ruins, as a dove in the light, and as bats in the night. To these and many others their natural dwelling-place is pleasant, and if any one changes the dwelling-

See from illustrations that this is true.

places which belong to them for those which do not belong to them, that is to say, places which hurt them instead of those which do not hurt them, it is a great evil and bitter trouble for them as the celebrated Psalm of the Blessed David reckons; and he declares in due order the places of all of them in Psalm civ, which is 'Bless the Lord, O my Soul, O Lord my God, thou art become very great,' which declares that according to their nature are their places, and according to their places is their contentment. For if you immersed a fish in oil, and hid a mole in honey, and made a moth live in silver, or worms in gold, or a louse in a heap of pearls, although these excel the dwelling-

P. 41.

¹ Read *ܠܗܘܘܢ*, p. 39, l. 35 (first word).

² *ܠܗܘܘܢ* in the Syriac occurs only here and on p. 73, l. 10, but it is found frequently in the Nabataean Inscriptions.

which belong to them, yet they are contented with their own (dwelling-place). And if these things that are made, and that are not Entities are contented with the places which were created for them, how much more is the Entity of Darkness contented with its natural den! And if any one stimulates it to go forth thence, it suffers pain, just as a man pains the dark mole when he brings it up from its dark place.

For if the Darkness had its own peculiar Domain,¹ as they say, —this is a statement which is difficult to believe—[but] what is more difficult than this is that “Darkness exchanged the Domain of its nature, and loved the Opposite of its nature,” and exchanged its ordinary manner for something which was alien to it. For a newborn babe changes from its place to another place, for both of them belong to it; and though it comes from its own to its own it verily weeps when it goes forth,—how much more is an Entity [*troubled*] if a man roots it up from its place (and takes it) to another place which does not belong to it! For just as in its own Domain it is at peace, so in a Domain which is not its own it suffers calamity. Moreover, physicians say that everything which does not keep its nature ruins its natural generation, though they are speaking of custom and not of nature. For if a man goes to accustom himself to something to which he is not accustomed, if he does not wisely acquire the custom by stealth, little by little, he is injured by it. But if a thing to which a man is unaccustomed disables a man if he comes to it suddenly when it is natural even if it is not customary, how did the Darkness come upon the Light, its Opposite, suddenly [*and enjoy it*]? And instead of what would have been right, (namely, that it (*i.e.*, the Darkness) should be positively injured as Nature indicates, it actually made an Assault upon it (*i.e.*, the Light), as the Falsehood says, which against the Light. . . .

But when that imposture is crushed by the questions of the Truth all his system has been exposed and laid bare. For as the question ² (?) of Moses shattered the Molten Calf, so the power of the Truth shatters the fabricated Teaching. But I know that

¹ Or “Place.”

² Read ~~the~~ ? p. 43, l. 22 (first word).

Darkness would be contented only in its own natural Domain.

P. 42, l. 9.

P. 43.

The Golden Calf story applied

to the
Mani-
chæans.

although the Calf was shattered the Jews did not flee from the worship of it, so also the Teaching of the Manichæans has been well exposed. but the Manichæans do not revile the worship of the Sun and Moon. For they are like one another in their blasphemies, even if they are not alike in their Scriptures. For as the Jews blaspheme against the New Testament, they (*i.e.*, the Manichæans) blaspheme against our Old Testament. But that (*i.e.*, Scripture) is (both) new wine and old. For as for the old its taste is in it, and its odour has not grown faint, but in the new there stirs the ferment of its power and of its violent heat.(?) But such vessels as do not receive the old convict themselves by their impurity, that (?) they are not even worthy to contain it. And such as do not receive the new they are old bottles which it (*i.e.*, the new wine) convicts by its power that they are not able to bear it.

The
parable of
the Wine-
skins
applied to
Jews and
Mani-
chæans.
P. 44, l.
10.

THE END OF THE SECOND DISCOURSE.

THE THIRD DISCOURSE AGAINST THE TEACHINGS

I DESIRE to utter one more refutation against the three of them (i.e., Marcion, Mani, and Bardaisan), that is against Marcion in the first place who (says) that a heaven is found also ¹ beneath the Stranger. Let us ask who bears up those heavens, and what is in them. For a power is necessary to bear them. Or can it be that the heavens of the Stranger are resting on the heavens of the Maker, so that he is the all-sustaining Maker, as indeed is the case? But if they say that the heavens of the Stranger hang by the power of the Stranger, we also will deal frowardly with the froward, (and say) that he who is above the heavens cannot support the heavens, but (only) if he were beneath them. But if he is the same person who is above the heavens and below them, it is clear that the place of his possessions is the same, and in the midst of it are collected those Souls whom ISU² brought up hence. For a Supporter is required for those heavy Souls whom he brought up thence . . . [*inasmuch as when his possessions are found enfolded within his bosom there is required for them another power which supports them.*] For we cannot accept from them just as they do not accept from us that there should be anything set up without a foundation.

I.
Marcion's
teaching;
the
heavens
of the
Stranger.

P. 45.

Ps. xviii.
26.

L. 26.

But know that if the Stranger has heavens which have been created from nothing, we must inquire by whom they were created. And if they are his in virtue of (their) 'essential being' there is a fortified boundary of 'essential being' beneath him, which he cannot cross. And just as he is not able to go forth from that Place which surrounds him so as to be something which does not exist in a Place, and has no Creator, so he is not able

The
heavens
of the
Stranger
and his
boundaries.

P. 46.

¹ Read אֱלֹהִים, p. 44, l. 25.

² I.e., Ἰησοῦς according to the Marcionite transliteration.

to cross that boundary which is beneath him. Nor were the Souls able to go up hence to cross it.

The
relations
of the
Stranger
and the
Maker.

But if that boundary was capable of being crossed so that also the Stranger crossed it and came down to us, as they say, and the Souls also rent it asunder and ascended, as they falsely state, then (it follows that) a boundary which could be crossed would not be able to prevent the Maker from going up to the Domain of the Stranger. If, therefore, when he was able to go up he was unwilling to trample down the boundary of his Companion, he is a God who is worthy of praise, since even those things which he (*i.e.*, Marcion) has invented, redound (*lit.*, cry out) to his praise. But if he had the will to go up, and the Stranger above allowed him, let them show us why. . . . And if the Good (Being) was guarding himself, he was verily afraid lest he (*i.e.*, the Maker) should injure him. And how did he who was afraid in his own Domain, come to the Domain of the Maker to struggle with him? And if he guarded his freedom that there should be no Strife and Contention between him and his neighbour, let his Heralds be despised who make him quarrelsome and contentious. And if they say that the Maker did not perceive the Stranger, it is unlikely. For how did he not perceive him when he was his neighbour? And if they say that he was far from him, infinitely far, if it was a mountain immeasurable and an endless path, and a vast extent without any limit, then how was that Stranger able to proceed and come down the immeasurable mountain, and (through) a dead region in which there was no living air, and (across) a bitter waste which nothing had ever crossed? And if they make the improbable statement that "the Stranger like a man of war was able to come," well if *he* came as a man of war—[*though he did not come*], (take the case of) those weak Souls whom he brought up hence, how were these sickly ones able to travel through all that region which God their Maker and Creator was not able to traverse, as they say?

L. 39.

P. 47.

Surely the
Maker
could
reach the
Domain
of the
Stranger.

And if they say that these were able but their Maker was not, if they say anything they like, they must hear something they dislike, (namely), that if the Soul, which is all the creation of this Creator, was strong enough so that with the strength of the Stranger, it was able to cross and to go, and did not remain

anywhere(?) on that immeasurable journey, how much more able P. 48, l. 13.
 would the Creator be to go, not only up to the Domain of the Stranger, but even to explore the other regions inside of it, if there were any there! . . . [*Thou mayest know that the system of statements which they make is impossible.*] For (being) a Person who grows not old nor ever dies or grows weary, who has no need of a conveyance of any kind, and requires no food,—and in that Domain there were no walls to hinder him,—how was the Maker hindered from travelling to see what was above him, (to see) whether that Domain was empty or had something in it or not? But if he reached the heavens of the Stranger, even if he did not actually enter he must have struck them to see what they were or whose they were.

And when the Stranger went forth from his Domain to come The
 hither, it is clear that he vacated his Domain. For anything Stranger
 which is limited, and in the midst of a place, when it goes forth and his
 from its place, the whole of it goes forth and no part of Domain.
 it remains in its place. But if half of it goes forth and half P. 49, l. 11.
 remains, or some portion of it, these things prove¹ concerning
 its nature that it is divisible. And if again they wish to
 change their ground, and say a thing which cannot be, (namely),
 that when he went forth to come from his Domain, his Domain
 was not deprived of him at all, because he is a Fullness which P. 49, l. 15.
 does not lack, and a Greatness which is not lessened, then
 how was his Domain full of him, and the Domain which was in
 the middle full of him—a place infinite and unlimited? And,
 moreover, the Domain of the Maker would be full of him (*i.e.*,
 of the Stranger), and this creation would be full of him; even
 unto Sheol beneath would his extent reach. If before he went
 out he was the sole occupant (*lit.*, fullness) of that Domain wherein
 he dwelt, and after he went out that Domain was likewise full P. 50.
 of him as before, it is clear that he is something which was found
 to belong to that Domain, and was (nevertheless) outside. It How the
 is necessary that we should inquire whence this addition arose; Stranger
 or perhaps some veil was upon his face as upon the face of the may be
 Sun; and when that veil was drawn aside he extended his both
 inside and
 outside

¹ Read ~~was~~, p. 49, l. 15 (first word).

of his
Domain.

rays unto us. And when he gathered himself in and confined himself to his Domain he filled the whole of the Domain in which he dwelt from of old. And it is necessary that we should inquire from whence are those causes which arose in front of him, and impeded the Light; and here his nature is found to fill all (space), and our place is not found to be foreign to his rays, just as also the vault of creation is not foreign to the rays of the Sun, even if by means of other veils it is concealed from us.

If Mar-
cionites
use the
Light of
the Sun to
illustrate
the omni-
presence
of the
Stranger,
they dis-
honour
him.

P. 51, l.
28.

P. 52.

But the Sun is one thing and its effulgence is another thing. For the Sun has substance and a circumference, too, and the eye sets bounds to the Sun, but its effulgence has no limit and substance. For the eye cannot set bounds to it. And by this proof it is discovered that the child is greater than its parent, since the parent is limited and the child that springs from the parent unlimited. But it (*i.e.*, the effulgence) is not really greater; it really is less than it, in that it has not substance like it (*i.e.*, the Sun). But because also the Sun is fire we learn to know it (*i.e.*, the Sun) from this lower fire; for thus also a flame of fire has a substance, but the Light of the fire has no substance. And bodies come and go in the midst of its Light and are not injured, but bodies cannot approach very near to the substance (of the flame). And just as there are flowers or blossoms or one of the roots which have sweet-smelling fruits and one small place is able to accommodate them because they are substances, but their scent is diffused outside of them because it has no localised substance; and we do not say that the scent of spices is more than the spices, or the perfumes of ointments more than the ointments, for they themselves are sold for a price, but the scent of fragrant herbs is freely given to all who come near them; and (just as) the censer cannot fill the house, but its smoke is greater than the house, for it is even diffused outside of it. (so) if they have made, therefore, their God like a perfume, which is dissipated and like a flame which is scattered, though they wish to honour him, they reduce him to inferiority, for they make him (to be) without an independent substantial Existence.

II.
Bardai-
san's

Again, let the party of Bardaisan be asked concerning those Entities which he speaks of, what supports these things of his

also,¹ seeing that they are placed in a deserted and empty Space in which there is no breath of air supporting all, especially inas- much as he mentions that there are both light and heavy Entities there? For Light is lighter than Wind and Wind than Fire, just as also Fire is lighter than Water. But light and heavy things cannot exist unitedly in one enclosure without the force of another (supporting them). teaching; what supports his Entities in Space? P. 53.

For the light (thing) must dwell above just as the heavy (thing) dwells beneath all. Therefore, Fire cannot exist in the same rank in which Light exists, nor can Water, which is heavy, be in the rank of Fire, or of Wind, because there is no force to support them. How could the Entities ever be mingled? L. 29.

. . . Water puts an end to Fire, which is² opposite it. For heaviness and weight cannot exist in one rank just as they cannot . . . by the same weight . . . things which are light and heavy in the midst of Water or in Air. These things convince concerning themselves how (far) the heavy approach³ the light. And if these which are heavier by measure than their companions, do greatly flee towards the depths, how much more distant from those things which are beneath, without weight and without measure, will the Darkness be which exists more heavily than all! For lo, all its heaviness, too, is beneath all . . . [*how did the Darkness*] go up from them because its heaviness. . . But if it is able to exist and be quiet, let them tell us what thing it was which came upon its heaviness (?)⁴ . . . for it is unable to be raised by itself. . . But if they say that it crossed its boundary and when it crossed it, it crossed it in an upward direction, then (let me ask), which is easier—for a heavy thing to go upwards, which is not natural, or to be sent downwards according to its nature? For so . . . [*owing to some cause or other*] to cross its boundary and make an Assault upwards. Above all [*the proper nature of its (i.e., of the Darkness) heaviness, demands that it*] should be continually sent beneath. And because from of old and from eternity everything was actually going down and down the Fire would not be able [*to find its way down through the great*]. L. 39. L. 54. L. 16. L. 12, 22. L. 34. L. 46. P. 55.

¹ Ephraim alludes to the Heavens of the Stranger, see above, p. li.

² Read *ⲁⲙⲃⲁⲗⲁⲓ* for *ⲁⲙⲃⲁⲗ*, p. 53, l. 30.

³ Read *ⲡⲓⲟ* for *ⲡⲓⲟⲓ*, p. 53, l. 43.

⁴ Read *ⲙⲃⲁⲓⲁⲓ*, p. 54, l. 20 (last word).

distance to the Darkness beneath or to reach] the Depths which are immeasurable.

If a
Primal
Wind
stirred
up the
Entities,
who
caused
this
Wind?
Was it
God?

But let us inquire as to this Fire, what was the cause that stirred it up also to cross the Boundary which it had never crossed before? They say that the Wind beat upon it and stirred it up. Let us come to the succession of causes and let us ask also concerning the Wind,—what stirred it up too? And if the causes are multiplied, what, then, was that which was the Cause of all the causes? If it be not known, there is a great error, but if it be known, there is a right question in reply to which a true argument should be offered. For if it was God, then He is the cause of all confusion, He who disturbed things in their state of order and mingled things that were pure and introduced Strife and Contention among Natures that were at peace; then He Who, they say, is the real cause of all beauty turns out to be the cause of all ugliness.

Cf. p.
lxxiii.
l. 15.
P. 56.

But¹ whoever stirred up that Evil which was asleep, and gave power to what was powerless and found out a method and arranged the Cause to make the Evil cross the Boundary, a thing that had never crossed its Boundary, that misdeed of his teaches us what name we should give him, with what eye we should look upon him, and with what amazement we should wonder at him!

Why
would
the Upper
Being
do so?

But if the same Upper Being stirred the Element of the Wind in a manner contrary to its nature, then that Upper Being must have crept and come down from his natural height; and what Cause, then, stirred him up, too, that he should hurl Contention and Strife among the Entities and Natures which were in a peaceful state, and, if they know not, whence did this cause spring?

Cf. p.
lxxiii.
l. 15.

For as regards these other things which they say concerning the Entities, whence did they learn that they are as they say? If the spirit of revelation made (it) known to them, it ought to have revealed to them (something) concerning the Cause on which all the causes depended.

P. 57.

Bardai-
san's reve-
lation was
not acce-

But one must wonder at this Wind that it was not revealed to Moses, the chief of the Prophets, who divided the sea and went through its midst, nor again to Simon, the chief of the Apostles,

¹ ~~l~~, p. 56, l. 4 (marg.), is to be omitted.

was it revealed, he who went down and walked upon the waters, and moved lightly upon the waves of the sea! But it was revealed to this Bardaisan who was unable to prevent the dew which dropped upon his bed! But let them give us the signs and wonders which he did, that by means of the open signs the secrets which he taught may be believed. But if the Prophets and Apostles who did many signs and wonders did not say one of the things which Bardaisan by himself denied, and if Bardaisan, who denied many things which are foreign to the teaching of the Prophets and Apostles, did not do any of the signs which they did, is it not clear and evident to any one who wishes to see clearly that there is a great gulf between his Error and their true Knowledge?

Let us ask [*what force it is which supported*] all those creatures which Bardaisan preached and the Firmament (?) and the Earth and those whom he calls ΠΑΝΦΛΓΟΣ¹ (?) and all that earth which is beneath everything and above the Darkness—who supports all these? Or how does the Darkness, which is beneath everything, support everything so as to be the foundation of all? But if they say that everything is placed on nothing, let Bardaisan² who said how can it be explained³ that something comes from nothing, (let him) repeat the thing which went forth from his mouth (and ask) how can something be supported by nothing? For how can a thing which does not exist support a thing which does exist? But if he says that it would be easy for God to hang everything on nothing, he confesses, though unwillingly, that it would not be difficult for God to create everything out of nothing. For if he was unable to create something from nothing, neither would he be able to set something on nothing . . . [*and Bardaisan cannot say that the Will of God supported everything*]. For (how) was that Will which they say is light [*and unable to make anything from nothing able even to support it?*] And, therefore, as it was necessary for the Will to have something out of which to create creatures [*so it needed something*] on which to place its creatures.

[*And if creatures are made from Entities*] which are not God is

¹ I.e. perhaps πᾶμφλογος, "the all-flaming."

² Read , p. 58, l. 19.

³ Read , p. 57, l. 21.

dited by
Signs nor
is it Scrip-
tural.

L. 22.

What sup-
ported the
Entities in
Space?

P. 58, l.
10.

P. 59.

L. 7

L. 13.

the cause
of the
Entities.

dependent on something which supports them, [*are not these Entities dependent*] upon something which is not dependent? And if they say that there is a myriad of . . . each supporting one another . . . [*they are not wise in what*] they say; [*for let us ask about that last supporter*] of them all, who bears it up? Until of necessity one great and perfect One is found Who is perfect in every respect, Who is identical with His own Domain and exists by His own power, and from nothing makes everything. For if He lacks any one of these things, then He is not perfect, and, therefore, He is in some sort an imperfect God who requires three things—that is, something from which to create created things, and a Pillar which upholds His creatures and a Domain in which His Divinity may dwell. But if the Will of God is supporting by its power the creatures which come from the Entities, it is clear that also that Will of God was supporting the Entities from the first and the same confused them. And if it was not supporting the Entities, then it does not support anything that comes from them. And if the Entities were dependent on it (*i.e.* the Divine Will) and existing by His power, they were not even Entities, especially as the Darkness also is found to exist likewise by the power of the Good One.

L. 33.

P. 60.

III.
Mani's
Teaching;
he placed
the Light
World in
contact
with the
Darkness,
and there-
by intro-
duced
great diffi-
culties.

And, therefore, on these grounds we have opposed Mani also with a true refutation. For he, too, calls God the Earth of Light, which (Earth) is not perfect, but if it is a deficient thing, the very word deficiency is enough to refute its claim to perfection. For its one side proclaims concerning the whole if it, that if on its side which is near the Darkness, it is limited by the Darkness, and if it is (so) by nature, its nature is very deficient and imperfect, inasmuch as that which limits it on one side is not a thing which is fair but the Darkness. Now, in the case of a thing which is limited by the Evil, inquire no further as to its weakness; for it is enough that the Evil limited it. And how, O Mani, shall we call that thing the perfect Good which is limited by the Darkness, or perfect Light that which is bounded by the Darkness? For it (*i.e.*, the Darkness) confined and limited its inferiority (*i.e.*, the inferiority of the Light), and did not suffer it to fill all (Space), in addition to the fact that it (*i.e.*, the Darkness) waxed

P. 61, l.
13.

bold like a strong one to trample down its Domain and to enter its Boundaries, and to plunder its Possessions. But they say that it (*i.e.*, the Darkness) came as one in need ; but if it was in need, know that this (*i.e.*, the Light) also is weak, and if the former plunders the latter is plundered. And, in order that they may be refuted in all points, if the two frontiers of Good and Evil were thus contiguous, all that side which bordered on the unclean became unclean and defiled, and infected, and corrupted by the contact of the Darkness. And if they say that that side which bordered on the Darkness was not injured by the contact of the P. 62. Darkness, then that side which could not be injured is more excellent than those Souls which were injured by the contact of the Darkness, for it ¹ (*i.e.*, the Darkness) is said to have acquired power over the inferior, since this inferior was all injured. But although it (*i.e.*, the side) has contact with the corrupt Darkness from everlasting to everlasting, the injurious contact could not injure it. And if the Enemy was unable to get dominion over it, and the Foe to tread it down and the Marauder to ascend and cross it, then why was it necessary for the Good One to take² the pure Souls who belonged to him, and to 'hurl' them beyond his own victorious Frontier into the jaws of the Darkness ? For it has been said that the Darkness could not even cross that mighty Frontier. But if it was a defenceless Frontier, one which could be overcome, and laid low, and trodden down and crossed, then its weakness could also be injured by the contact of the Darkness. And if the Darkness had been able to get dominion over it, if it had wished to destroy it, lo, it would have destroyed P. 63. it by degrees, and made an Assault. And if it desired to rob it, behold it would have approached it stealthily by degrees, and moved onwards. And if (it had wished) to feel a Passion for it and to enjoy it, lo, what gave it Pleasure was at its side . . . if L. 13. what gave it Pleasure was in close contact on its side from everlasting to everlasting ; and if it carried its will into action, the Darkness had no need to make an Assault and enter the midst of the Earth of Light, because the same Pleasantness was diffused throughout the whole of it (*i.e.*, the Earth). For the Light is one in its nature, and wherever a man has pleasure in it,

¹ Read **לח** **הוא** for **לח**, p. 62, l. 8.

² Read **לח**, p. 62, l. 26.

it is the same. Look, therefore, at the fabricated system of deceit, for in all this the Pleasantness of the Light is in contact with the Darkness, as they say. If it is after the fashion of a park, the one side which bordered on the Sons of the Darkness was entirely akin to the Darkness—for it is with them. And if the Fragrance of that pleasant thing is sent forth into their nostrils, and if that Light is diffused upon their eyes, and if the Melodies of that sweet Player are poured into their ears, how¹ since all this was present with him, did he smell and perceive as from a far mountain that “there was something pleasant there”? And if from the centre of the Earth (of Light) or from the inner sides he received the smell of the Pleasantness of Light, this, too, is against them. For how did it come about that the sweet smell and effulgence burst forth and entered even there? And how did this beautiful Fragrance ever smite the Darkness?

How did the attractive-ness of Light reach the Senses of Darkness?

P. 64, l. 12.



If Darkness has foreknowledge it is more excellent than the Light.

How can the Souls escape from this Darkness?

P. 65, l. 9.

Cf. p. lxxii. l. 3.

For if the Darkness had foreknowledge, and by means of that he knew that there would be something pleasant (in the realm of Light) then is that Entity (of the Darkness) greater and more excellent than this Good, in that it has this foreknowledge. But lo, the Souls who are from this (Entity) are to-day existing in Ignorance and Error. And if he had great foreknowledge, when do the Souls who have strayed expect to be ‘refined,’ seeing that ‘he who leads them astray’ is so great? For by his knowledge he made them to be without knowledge. But, above all, they cannot go forth hence, because, howsoever that Good (Being) may contrive to form ways and means for their departure hence, that Evil One knows beforehand all the movements and secrets which are planned there against him; and that Good (Being) cannot even conceal his secret thoughts from him. And if he cannot conceal from him the thoughts in his own heart and in his own Domain, how does he expect to release from under the hand of this mighty One the Souls who are subject to his authority, especially, too, if they are stored up in the midst of him and ‘swallowed,’ as they say? And if, when they were not swallowed, he contrived to swallow them, now that he has swallowed them, who is there that can bring them forth from his midst? (This

¹ Read  for , p. 64, l. 6.

is a thought) which even Mani himself may have muttered from the midst of the Darkness when he was swallowed. And in his muttering whose help would he invoke? (Would he invoke) Him who even in his own Domain is guarding himself from that which he fears? For he is afraid to come because he knows that if he comes he is swallowed; but they are ashamed to say that he can be swallowed. And how can they conceal it? For behold those Souls which were swallowed up (so as to be removed) from him make them ashamed. And if they were not swallowed, again they are all the more ashamed in this point, (namely): Why did that Nature which cannot be swallowed not contend (?) with the Darkness and swallow all of it? P. 66.

Behold, two alternatives are set before them; let them choose one, whichever they wish, that they may be put to confusion in it. But if in both directions they are put to confusion, this is not due to us, but to their wise Teacher, who concocted for them a Teaching which is put to confusion in every respect. But if they say that he had no foreknowledge, [*then let them hear my former questions about the contact of the Darkness with the Light*].

The Evil One had or had not foreknowledge.

Cf. p. lviii. f.

If the Evil One has foreknowledge from the first, how is it that he sometimes (?) perceived as if he sometimes knew? And if when he knew he did not feel desire; the question is one which resolves itself into two alternatives, (namely), if he verily made an Assault with his eyes (open?), it is a thing repugnant to his nature; but if, though he felt desire, he did not make an Assault he remained by reason of his self-restraint for a long time in a state of desire perforce. But these Souls who are from the Good (Being) are put to shame by his self-restraint, since they are found to be fornicators, and they run corruptly into all evils. And who caused that false ascetic to offend? Can it have been that Virgin of the Light about whom they say that she manifested her beauty to the Archons, so that they were ravished to run after her? But it is not possible for pure mouths to speak as they do about the things after this; so that we will not commit them to writing, but we will take refuge in such discourse as it is possible to use (and argue), that if that Virgin of Light appeared to him and P. 67.

If Darkness had foreknowledge, he showed restraint.

Did the Virgin of the Light tempt him?

made him offend by her purity, her folly is seen in this. And in what respect was the beauty or pleasantness or fragrance of the Virgin of Light different from that of that Luminous Earth? So that if there is a question of Passion, behold, as a harlot, she embraces the fornicator. For the borders of both Domains embrace one another after the manner of bodies. And, because from eternity and from everlasting they were touching one another, perhaps, also, that Evil one became weary of the perpetual contact. But if a comparison such as that which they employ (lit., bring) is applicable to the matter, (namely), that one loves and another is loved, the experience of debauchees refutes them. (namely), that, although they love, there comes a time when they are sated and weary of that thing which they love.

P. 68.

L. 33.

P. 69.

How did
Darkness
discover
this Light?

And if our questions do not please them, neither does it please us that they should speak all this blasphemy against the Truth. If, therefore, they wish to hear many things, in a single word . . . that is to say, when they confess that they are in an evil case. And, therefore, silence is our part, and they will have profit. But if . . . And if they do not wish to come to that which overthrows¹ them (?), let them show how at one time the Darkness had a Passion for the Light, though they were from everlasting hidden in one another. If this Fragrance was diffused recently, first we must inquire what was the cause which made it spread, and what was the power which stirred it up, and why all this was. (?) And it is clear that that is the cause of the trouble and war. But if the Darkness acquired Thought which . . . , and a Mind which he had not (formerly) and² Knowledge which he had not, lo again [*we refute them by asking how Mind could be acquired by a Nature which did not contain it. It could only come from an outside source—from a region above the Darkness*].

L. 40.

The expla-
nations of

For Bardaisan had already (?) (*i.e.*, before Mani) said, 'There arose a cause by chance, and the Wind was impelled against the Fire.' Marcion said [*concerning the . . .*] "that

¹ Read ~~ܡܝܢ~~ for ~~ܡܝܢܝܢ~~, p. 69, l. 3.

² Read ~~ܡܝܢܝܢ~~, p. 69, l. 24.

he saw a certain picture." (?) For we will not utter these other things which are after it (?); even though their mouths were fit to utter something which was not permissible. For (let us ask) whence sprang the cause, O Marcion, which first [made him aware of] that which was beneath him? And if the Good . . . which was above it did not perceive HŪLĒ seeing that it was under him, how did he perceive it anew, or how did HŪLĒ (?) recently (ascend to regions) which are not natural¹ for it? And Mani said, concerning the Darkness . . . [that its Sons began to rage and ascend to see what was above them outside the Darkness or that it acquired Thought].

And see how like the perverse crabs are to one another, each one of whom takes a devious course and goes forth, not to come to the Scriptures, but to turn aside from the Scriptures! And, perhaps, Satan, their father, took a somewhat devious course, because he is a native in Error—that is because they are foreigners from foreigners, who do not blaspheme at all. For let the circumcised foreigners prove that each of them is a drop of poison 'of the troubled sea.' Whenever, therefore, it suits Mani, he brings their two sides into contact, like Sun and Shade, which cannot be mingled together. And, again, when he is forced he destroys the first and mixes them together—the Good and the Evil—like water with water. And that he may not be refuted (by the argument) that if they had been near together, how did the Darkness recently desire the Light, as if it had suddenly met it, he constructed the theory 'that sometimes HŪLĒ acquired Thought.' And in seeking to avoid refutation, he came to such a point that he rightly suffered confusion. And because he was compelled he named two Roots; and because again he was plainly exposed he produced many Natures from the midst of two Natures. But a tongue which is in the power of Falsehood is turned by it as it (*i.e.*, Falsehood) finds convenient.

For with regard to Light which is the opponent² and the abolisher of Darkness whenever it suits them, they say that

¹ Read *ܡܢܚܘܢ*, p. 70, l. 20.

² Read *ܡܠܚܡܘܢ*, p. 71, l. 34.

Bardaisan, Marcion and Mani as to the original cause of the Disturbance. P. 70, l. 11.

They are all different.

P. 71.

Mani takes any explanation that suits him regardless of consistency.

How did the Darkness love the Light?

it (*i.e.*, the Darkness) had a Passion for it (*i.e.*, the Light). And how does opposite love opposite, that is to say, how does the injured one love its injurer? or how does the eater have affection for that which is eaten, as the wolf for the lamb? Or will they, therefore, suppose the Light to be injured like the lamb? And (then) it had good reason to desire the Darkness (which is) like a wolf! But if they suppose that the Darkness is injured like the lamb, how does that which is injured have a Passion for its injurer? They attribute to Darkness that it desires, like the wolf, and that it is injured like a lamb; and when these two things are laid at the door of the Darkness, has not the true (opinion) perished from them (*i.e.*, the Manichæans), that is, have they not perished from the Truth? For those proofs and comparisons which they adduce are also confused like them (*i.e.*, the Manichæans).

The
Domains
of Good
and Evil
illustrated
from the
natural
places
of Fish
and
Moles.

But if there are two Domains, and Good and Evil who dwell in them, (now) I portray these from things external and with simple illustrations in order that they may be easy for their hearers. For let us suppose that there is a great and clear and pure river, and fine fish in it, and that there is a bad and filthy and foul sepulchre, and moles in it. Then let us set the moles which dwell in the Darkness as the likeness of the Sons of Darkness, and let us place the fine fish as a fine (?) type of the Sons of the Light and let us suppose that their Domains are bounded this by that, the water by sepulchral vaults, and the dry land by wet ground . . . if those fishes [*do not*] long to go up to the dry land and to soil themselves in mud¹ and in the burrows² of moles; is it not, therefore, incontestably³ clear that just as moles dislike going down to the water, so fishes disdain to go up to the dry land? And they are made to be neighbours to one another; and in proportion as their boundaries approach one another, so much the further are their (natural) wills removed from one another; so that there is none of them which desires his neighbour's domain.

¹ Read ~~موت~~, p. 73, l. 11.

² See the second note on p. xlvihi.

³ Add ~~موت~~, p. 73, l. 14.

If, therefore, these things which are not Entities, and are not (derived) from Entities, and were not made from good and evil Natures—since if thou kill a mole and cast it to the fishes, the fishes will devour it—and if, therefore, these things which are near to one another in a certain sense are thus far strangers as regards their abodes and . . . in their nature, and do not dare to cross their borders, how much more would it be right that Good and Evil should exist in their Nature and Domains, seeing that they are real Entities and really strangers to one another, and the reality of their Enmity P. 74. is never lessened! For if it was lessened, that is due to Freedom and not to Essential-nature, (it is due) to Will and not to Nature; how, therefore, did the Darkness . . . to cross to the Domain of its opposite, and why¹?—seeing that when a mole goes it goes into its own (proper place), and when it ceases (?) (*it goes forth*) and smells that it may reach the edge of the water and (then) returns again to go into its own (proper place). And so, also, a fish, to which are assigned its depths comes into its own (proper place), and when it ceases (?) it returns to its depths.

Here are correct demonstrations which refute those who have introduced confused Teaching . . . For it is found that L. 33. fishes and moles which come from Nature [*stay in their own natural places*] . . .

* * * * *

[*Moles akin to the Darkness are not anxious to cross the* P. 75, l. 5. *boundary*] of fishes, the sons of water. And how do they flee from this boundary and rank of the Sons of the Light; and² (yet) the Darkness, their Father, made an Assault to enter within the boundaries of the Sons of the Light, and why are (the words) ‘refined,’³ and ‘first’ (used to describe him)? But if their Father made an Assault, but they flee, it is found that these blind and dark moles do (in reality) come from the nature and abode of the Good (World of Light). For, behold, they flee from their opposite. Nor (even) like these blind

¹ Add ~~אשר~~, p. 74, l. 12 (last word).

² Read ~~אשר~~ for ~~אשר~~, p. 75, l. 10.

³ The meaning is not clear.

moles is the perception of Souls which see and hear and speak and perceive that they may flee from the vile boundary of the Darkness.



How could
Darkness
swallow
Light?



Again, let us turn and ask the advocates of Error, that is, its Preachers—how were the Sons of the Light cast into the mouths of the Sons of the Darkness? And how did the Darkness swallow the Light—a thing which is not natural to it? But the nature of both is that the Light swallows and the Darkness is swallowed. And if here (in our world) the Light swallows the Darkness as experience shows, but there the Light is swallowed, as the Heretics say, it is clear that this Darkness which is swallowed here is not akin to that Darkness which swallows there; just as also the Light which swallows the Darkness is not akin to that which is swallowed by the Darkness. And if they strive to make a stand, again they fall. For one fall is not sufficient for them. For really it is not a case of falling at all. For this takes place (only) where there has been standing; they are always prostrate—they do not wish to stand.

P. 76.

Again, let them¹ understand (?) that as regards this Light which swallows the Darkness here with us, and this Darkness which here amongst us is swallowed by the Light, it is the nature of that which swallows to swallow, and of that which is swallowed to disappear. Or has the Creator's own will changed their natures? And if it is due to (His) Will, where was their (unchangeable) Nature? If he is one who² submitted (?) himself there, and is the Light-God who did not aid himself, whose Light was swallowed by the Darkness, how has he to-day changed the nature of the Darkness that it should be swallowed by the Light? For they say that he is the Maker. And, if the Darkness changed its nature, it is unlikely that it would bring itself to the weakness, so that he who swallowed them is swallowed to-day. Since that true saying demands that natures essentially fixed cannot be changed; but that Freewill, because He created it to say

P. 77.

¹ Read perhaps  for , p. 76, l. 28.

² Read perhaps  for , p. 76, l. 43.

everything, proclaims by name those Entities whose true nature it cannot declare. But, because those names belong to the Entities, the Entities of the substances (?) are changed. For if the substances (?) of the Entities had been like the names of the Entities, and were fixed natures, they could not be changed ; because a thing which exists in the natural condition of its original Essence, so exists as it is, and so remains for ever and ever.

But let us inquire about the nature of this Darkness, whether this is natural to it, (namely), that it should be swallowed by the Light, just as our sight proves . . . that P. 78. it (*i.e.*, the Darkness), too, is swallowed here so that both here and there it has an essential Nature. For one Entity cannot be divided into two Entities, even though the Heretics speak absurdities. And if the nature of the Light around us, as it proves about itself, is such that it swallows and is not swallowed, and there is no means whereby Light is swallowed by Darkness, at any time and for all time to come, it is clear . . . that as it swallows the Darkness here, so it swallows there, and was not swallowed (by the Darkness).

Also the perverse ones do perversely proclaim the Teaching Refuta-
tory Sum-
mary.—but here [*we have correctly refuted what*] they say concerning the Light and the Darkness . . . we hear that it was done there in quite a contrary and opposite way. On which (opinion), therefore, is it right that we should stand¹—on the cunning tale which is proclaimed preposterously, or on true evidence, whereof the correctness is seen by practice? . . . For not a little . . . because it was not right that they should P. 79, l.
2, be a little ashamed. For . . . to speak . . . against . . . Ll. 7, 8, 9. that rightly . . . but also those who believe. (?) For according Ll. 10, 14. to the great falsehood and untruth . . . difficult . . . he Ll. 17, 24. gives them a preposterous account of a thing which we see in practice correctly every day. For it seems that he made them drunk first, and then he told them a tale. For he was afraid of the truth of Nature, lest it should refute him. But, if not, how (?) was the perverse tale not disgraced in their ears,

¹ Read *קרא* for *קרא*, p. 78, l. 41.

that, while they see that the Light swallows the Darkness here, they think that there it (*i.e.*, the Light) is swallowed by the Darkness?

The Light and Darkness have no bodies. And the Darkness when it is swallowed here by the Light has not even a body; for nothing is separated from itself (*i.e.*, the Darkness), seeing that it vanishes altogether. But

P. 80, l. 11.

a house full of darkness shows that if a man opens the doors and windows in the daytime, whither can that darkness, which is in it, go up [*to hide*¹]? There is no room for it to go outside, for the Light which is from outside absorbs it. If we say that it stays within, it does not remain there. For the rays of the Sun entering pursue it. And if it does not exist within, and goes out, it is clear that it has all come to an end; and with it has come to an end all that Teaching which says that it (*i.e.*, Darkness) has a kind of body in reality. For in this manner it (*i.e.*, the Teaching) says that it has a body, in that "it verily ate those brilliant Shining Ones (ZIWÂNĒ) who were cast into its mouth." So Darkness and Light have become composite bodies—a thing which nature does not teach. For a man never eats Light nor ever swallows Darkness.

The Body has not the same Nature as Darkness, nor has the Soul the same Nature as Light. And if this Body with which we are clothed is of the same nature as the Darkness, as they say, and this Soul which is in us is of the same nature as the Light, when we look at these two natures which are in us, and at the two (natures) of Light and Darkness which are outside of us, they are refuted (and shown) that these are not from those, neither these from those. For how can the bright Soul which is within be overcome by the Body which is akin to the Darkness?

P. 81, l. 13.

For the outer Light which is akin to it (*i.e.*, the Soul) overcomes the Darkness. Moreover, how does this Body overwhelm the bright Soul, seeing that this outer Darkness which is akin to it is consumed and swallowed by the Light?

The Sons of Light were not used as bait (?) to And as for these things which are obvious even to simpletons and madmen, how do they who will not distinguish between statements which are correct, and those which

¹ Read perhaps ~~read~~, p. 80, l. 11 (last word).

are self contradictory, applaud them when they hear them? ^{catch the} Sons of
 For how dost thou receive (this) into thy mind, O wise Hearer, ^{Darkness,}
 and how is there a (healthy) ear . . . that thou shouldst hear ^{L. 32.}
 . . . when . . . and explains with explanations which are ^{L. 37.}
 worthy of ridicule? . . . [for he says] that the Primal ¹ Man (?)
 cast (?)² “ the Sons of the Light into the mouths of the Sons
 of the Darkness as (into the mouths) of hunters,³ and that
 the Light was pleasant and agreeable and sweet to those
 Sons of the Darkness; and thus they were found to eat them ^{P. 82.}
 greedily, and they were cast in and entered into their
 midst and were mixed with them.” O how exceedingly
 ridiculous that a man . . . O what vile blasphemy! . . .
 wolves eat lambs and lions eat calves, and the eater and the ^{L. 11.}
 eaten are quite content with one another! And these are
 bodies, and these are composite things, and both of them . . .
 if . . . the Sons of the Darkness are bodies because (they ^{L. 21, 22.}
 have) bodies as they say (but) the nature of the Sons of the
 Light is spiritual, as they say; for this Light, too, is akin to
 them, how is it fitting (that) this thing which is mingled
 (with the Darkness) should be held fast? And the Soul which
 dwells in the Body [*would not be held fast*⁴] since it is akin to
 it . . . so that if the Soul was akin to the Darkness . . . this ^{L. 38, 41.}
 [perturbed]⁵ Body . . . lo, they are akin to its nature as they say ^{L. 46.}
 [for] that Darkness . . . and as the wise ones profess. . . .

* * * * *

Darkness by the Primal [Man] who bore it, he would have ^{P. 83, 1. 9.}
 died; since it is difficult . . . which (is) in its Essence . . .
 and also the Parts . . . which he slew . . . because they ^{L. 16, 18,}
 teach that the Darkness has a nature . . . and goes into ^{19.}
 anything which he catches. ^{L. 22.}

And, therefore, if the Sons of the Light were eaten and ^{The Sons}
 entered into the belly and were digested in the stomach, it ^{of Light}
 must be that they were dissolved in the excrement and waste ^{had a}
^{composite}
^{Nature.}

¹ Read perhaps *אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱדָמָה*, p. 81, ll. 42, 43.
² Read perhaps *אֵל* for *אֱלֹהֵי*, p. 81, l. 42.
³ Or read *אֵלֵינוּ* “as bait,”? p. 48, l. 46.
⁴ Read perhaps *אֵלֵינוּ* for *אֵלֵינוּ*, p. 82, l. 34.
⁵ Read *אֵלֵינוּ*, p. 82, l. 41 (last word).

- refuse. For these are plausible statements to be made by their own about their own! And, therefore, those Sons of the Light are natures which can be dissolved and destroyed. And it is proper to ask concerning this nature, as to how it existed from all eternity. For if they were compounded they are also dissolved . . . and also destroyed; they are not the thing which they were before they were destroyed; and besides this, it is clear that if he collects and compounds them, . . . has compounded them from the beginning. And if from all eternity they have not been compounded, but are natures which are not composite (they spring) from an Existence which is not composite. So that by plain things they have been refuted who speak much falsehood about secret things . . . akin to the body, as they say, that body is found not only [unable] to eat or to destroy or to torture . . . but, also, it is unable to understand their plain things . . . as they say, [that as] the Darkness ate the Light . . . which was in it, and it was all inside the Darkness . . . how did it eternally and from the beginning both seize¹ it and feel it . . . into its midst . . . and how . . . ?
- P. 84.
L. 18.
L. 30.
L. 37.
L. 40.
P. 85, l. 7.

Judge
judged
and the
torment-
ing Fire.

- But they say these things in addition to those other things. (namely), "that the Souls came² to the Judge." For if that nature is one, how can part of it judge and part of it be judged? And also the Souls are part³ of the Essence (?), how (does there spring) from it one who torments and one who is tormented? And if, too, the fire which torments is akin to him who torments, and to those who are tormented, what⁴ ear is there which can endure this blasphemy that the judge and the judged and the tormentor are from one good Essence, as they say? And how are there in it these three opposites? For He also who judges the judged came hither in his entirety and was mixed with the Body; thus he sinned and offended just as those Souls who are from him offended. And if these Souls had stayed in their (native) Domain and had not come hither,
- L. 16.

¹ Read ܘܠܗܘܢ , p. 84, l. 42.

² Read perhaps ܘܘܠܗܘܢ . "come," p. 85, l. 10.

³ Read ܘܘܠܗܘܢ for ܘܘܠܗܘܢ , p. 84, l. 15.

⁴ Read ܘܘܠܗܘܢ for ܘܘܠܗܘܢ , p. 85, l. 23.

these would have possessed it, after he had gone thither. And how are they true natures, those natures which did not pre-serve their Essence ? p. 86.

For, consider the pure and righteous Body, how it is not such as the apostates state (when they say), "that the Body is a covering¹ which is from the evil Nature," nor is the Soul as they say, from² a pure Root. For the eyes of the glorious body clothe themselves with chastity, its ears with purity, its limbs with glory, its senses with holiness, in its mouth is praise and on its tongue is thanksgiving, and in its lips is blessing, in its feet is the habit of visiting the sick, in its hands alms for the needy, in its heart is true faith, and in its . . . love (?). And that wall was built by God and [*He made it to be*] a pure shrine for Him, and a temple . . . for its architect when . . . in (?) the body . . . he (*i.e.*, Mani) says . . . that it (*i.e.*, the Body) is from a nature so that it sins . . . it is a shame to them since it shows that the Body . . . And if they are not persuaded to secret sin, they will be persuaded by a devil. How did he (?) force . . . The Body can be pure and righteous. L. 39.

Consider again the refined Soul about which they say that its nature³ is from the Good (Being), it shows concerning its nature . . . the Body is . . . (a nature) which is evil. Also . . . the refined⁴ Soul which⁵ they say is the Daughter of the Light puts on that Darkness in its deeds⁶ and . . . in its conduct. . . . And if (it is) from God [*how does it revile Him?*] . . . and if (it is) from [*the Holy One, how is it impure*] . . . and if (it is) from . . . behold it puts on . . . and if it is from the Good (Being), how has it become a den and nest of unmixed Evil ? P. 87. The Soul is not necessarily pure. L. 23.

And if all this was pleasant in the midst of Satan, how do they say that some of these Souls who sin much and do much How can Light which

¹ Read perhaps ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, p. 86, l. 9 (first word).

² Read ܩܘܪܘܢܐ for ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, p. 86, l. 12.

³ Read ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, p. 87, l. 3.

⁴ Read ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, p. 87, l. 13 (first word).

⁵ Read ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, p. 86, l. 13.

⁶ Read ܩܘܪܘܢܐ for ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, p. 86, l. 16.

formerly
pleased
finally
torture
Dark-
ness ?

wickedness, and blaspheme much, and are guilty of great unbelief are found like dregs in the midst of one whom they call BOLOS ?¹ As they say that "when the fire dissolves all his interior, there is collected every portion of the Light which was mixed and mingled among created things, and those Souls

P. 88, l. 3. who have done much wickedness are assigned to the realm of the Darkness when he is tortured." And if it (*i.e.*, the Light) is a nature which pleases him, as the beginning of their Teaching says, how is it the cause of his torment, as the end of their fabricated system says ? But that² that Luminous Nature should become³ at one time his enjoyment, and [*that he should like it*] and enjoy it, and that, again it should be assigned to his realm, and that he (*i.e.*, the Darkness) should be imprisoned and tortured therein—this may happen in the cases of changeable Natures which are created out of nothing : according to the Will of the Creator they can be changed to anything.

For loose dust of the earth is the dwelling of every creeping thing, and according to its liking it crawls in it and dwells in it. But if any one by regulation associates two Natures with the Nature, that is to say, so that it may be moulded with water by the hand of the workman, and receive strength from fire, then there springs from it a vessel and a prison-house to torture . . . that creeping thing which lay in it when it was dust, and crawled in it, and was delighted when it was clay. When it becomes a vessel moulded and baked in an oven, it becomes the torturer of those that are imprisoned in it.

P. 89.

If, therefore, the Darkness is finally tormented by that Luminous Nature in which it takes pleasure, what was the cause of the negligence long ago (which brought it about) that the Darkness obtained dominion over all this and took pleasure therein ? And what is the cause of its fierceness so that at last the Darkness is imprisoned and tormented in it ? If its 'Essential nature' has this strength, then where was

¹ *I.e.* Διάβολος. Cf. p. lx. l. 33.

² Read **ⲁⲟⲩ** for **ⲁⲟ**, p. 88, l. 13.

³ Read **ⲕⲁⲟⲩ** for **ⲕⲁⲟ**, l. 14.

it formerly? But if this energy comes from another place, why did it not come formerly? So that instead of the Grave which is now built stupidly for the Darkness, an impregnable wall should have been built, and thus there would have been *(a separation)* between the two Domains, (such a wall) as it would be fitting for the Good (Being) to make, and right for the Just (Being) to keep in repair, and proper for the Wise (Being) to guard. But after those atrocities which the Darkness wrought upon the Light, and after those blasphemies which the Souls blasphemed against their Father, and after they committed fornication and folly and polluted and disgraced themselves, and after great blemishes have appeared in them, so that, although their wounds may be healed, they cannot be effaced, and the places of their spots cannot be covered up, after all this Strife and Contention, and after all this misery and loss—even if there was a gain, the gain of such things would not be equal to the loss—he has planned to-day to build a Grave for the Darkness so that at last it may be imprisoned there.

Why was
a Wall
not built
between
the Do-
mains?

Cf. p.
xxxv.

P. 90.

Cf. p. lvi.
ll. 13, 26 f.

And how can a Grave limit him who is infinite? For if the Darkness can be limited, then the Light also can be limited. And if the Good (Being) cannot be limited, but the Evil One can be limited, it is clear that this Evil One who can be limited is not an (eternal) Entity, the Companion of that Good (Being) who is not limited; and it is found that that which limits is an (eternal) Entity, and that which is limited by whoever is able to limit him, is a creature. But if he is not a creature and is an (eternal) Entity, an Entity cannot limit an Entity without itself being also limited by that other one, his equal, which is limited.

P. 91.

THE FOURTH DISCOURSE AGAINST FALSE TEACHINGS.

How was the Darkness imprisoned?

YE know that it is right that Mani be asked: From which of the Elements was the Grave built for the Darkness? But if it spontaneously turned and imprisoned itself, know that, because it cannot mix or mingle with itself anything else—

P. 91, l. 20.

for there is nothing—and because, moreover, it cannot change itself—for it is an (eternal) Entity which exists as it existed before, and does not come to change—it cannot become opposed to itself. But if he built (the Grave) from the Element of the Good (Being), how¹ did he make it from these Souls in whom he takes delight to-day? But if there is essentially belonging to his nature something which is harder than these Souls, then why did the Darkness not build from that hard and deaf (*i.e.*, inexorable) and victorious element a wall for the outer Domain in order to keep his possessions within? And thus he would have been spared all these evils. But, perhaps, this wisdom had not come near him at that time, but in the end (?) of his years it happened that he was harassed and learned, practical (?) workmanship and stone-cutting, and architecture. . . . And if these (qualities?) are there, not only are *they* there. For many things are required there. For a natural building shows how many things it requires to be employed (in constructing it).

P. 92.

Things required to build the Grave.
L. 30.

For if they are stones in reality, (?) and if they are cut as they say, there is required one who cuts, and the iron which cuts, and the stones which are cut, when . . . are left, and a rope . . . which in the middle, and all these . . . natures . . . which is in it and a destroyer of their

L. 40.

¹ Read  for , p. 91, l. 32.

essence ; and, moreover, fire injures iron, for it (*i.e.*, the fire), transforms the nature thereof. And if any one leaves an iron in the furnace there its destruction (?) follows. And P. 93. if any one goes . . . though they are bound (natures), and they go into one another. All this creation is required there so that it may be found in the Domain of the Good (Being). So when this Teaching professes to explain about the Domain of the Good (Being), its explanation is found to refer to this creation. And just as even when it explains about it (*i.e.*, this creation), . . . lacks intelligence, and just as . . .

And this Earth from which the Stones are cut is not essentially such that is uncomposite, and also incapable of being cut up. For a thing which is not composite cannot be cut. For a composite nature can be dissolved. But if it can be cut . . . And if it has these (qualities) in its nature, it has no (immutable) Essence in its nature, and it shows that the natures which (spring) from it are composite creations. For that Grave is built, it is certainly composed and . . . But if the Architect of the work is skilled in building it is right that it should be put together cunningly. These Stones, therefore, which were compounded there show concerning the Earth from which they were cut, that it also is a composite nature.

And just as if any one asks about natural stones . . . as to whence they were cut, it is possible to declare and say that they are cut and hewn from some place or other—a thing whereof also a building in our country is a witness to us—it is right, moreover, to ask whence had this Earth (such resources) that these Stones were cut from it. For it is clear that they were made either from something or from nothing. For they cannot say that it exists of itself ; for . . . refutes them. And, therefore, let the great deep and abyss which is in that quarry, from which these Stones were cut, refute them. And when BÂN, the Builder, built to make the Grave for the Darkness. he made that great pit in his Domain for the Sons of his Domain. And whence was the deficiency of that Earth filled up (again) ; for if it was fair before it

L. 26.

The Earth from which the Stones were cut cannot be Eternal.

L. 40.

P. 94, l. 8.

The Earth would be damaged by the quarrying.

Cf. p. xxx. l. 29.

Cf. pp. xxx., xlvi.

P. 95.

became lacking, it was exceedingly and endlessly disfigured after it had been cut.

Thus, the idle tales have become and are a laughing-stock. For if the stone-cutters operate on that Earth, they are at the same time carrying it forth into the Domain of the Darkness. And if it has not a nature to remain in a Domain which is not its own, then how does it imprison in a Grave built from itself the Darkness which is foreign to its nature ?

Have
Light and
Darkness
a Common
Earth or
separate
Earths ?

And, again, if this Earth stretches unto the Earth of the Darkness, is it not the fact that, since it is beaten out and everywhere bordering upon it (*i.e.*, the Darkness), it has all become one earth in the Domain of the Light, and in the Domain of the Darkness? And it is found that one earth supports them both. These are fine Gods and (eternal) Entities which are supported by one another! And if it is one, as also it is one, for it must be one, then either it is all dark towards the Good and towards the Evil, or, again, it is luminous towards both. For it is impossible that the half of it towards the Darkness is dark, and the half of it towards the Light is luminous, because its fixed nature will not allow it. For it is one in its Essence. Or a great gulf exists in the middle between these two Earths, and does not allow them to go forth to one another.

Cf. xcvi. 7.

P. 96.

If a great
gulf
divided
the two
Domains,
how could
it be
crossed ?

And if a mighty gulf which separates above and below does exist there, how did the Darkness cross to the Domain of the Good (Being) without a bridge? Or did he forsooth make a bridge over it and cross? For those to whom it is easy to speak falsely in everything, it is not difficult to lie.

And if they say that he crossed without a bridge, even if they speak falsehood, they are refuted. For if the two sides can cross over one to another without a bridge, a wide gulf being in the middle, they are found to be spiritual, and they are not heavy bodies, and it is evident that for Natures which are thus subtle and light, a supporting Earth is not required as for bodies. Therefore, either let them appeal to the Earth, and it shows that they are corporeal,

and are unable to cross the gulf without a bridge. Or let them appeal to the Abyss, and if they flew and crossed it P. 97. they are spiritual, and are not dependent upon the Earth.

And if they flee from these two (alternatives) to (the theory of) a bridge . . . [*they are refuted*] for when the sons of the Darkness bridged (?) the Great Abyss, to cross it, with what (did they make it) and how? And how did they bridge it; for those who build a bridge fix (?) its foundations (lit, legs) on *both* sides as rivers show, or a deep which is bridged. Why, therefore, did they bridge it? And how were the Sons of the Darkness able without a bridge to . . . their companions . . . or did they, perhaps, . . . cross the bridge . . . since they were on one side, and the Sons of the Light on the other side! And if that bridge was . . . the waste in the middle would make it useless. But if it was . . . it would not allow them to cross; and thus the twisting of Mani has come to an end.

How could a bridge be constructed between the Domains?

But if the Earth was all one, since it stretches towards Good and Evil, are they not ashamed when they say concerning the one, that is to say, concerning the one Essence that the half of it which is towards Good is good, and the half of it which is towards Evil is evil? But if it is in its Essence praiseworthy (?) O what ridiculous Teaching—how can the Essence of the Earth be praiseworthy (?) [*when it touches the vile Earth which was opposite?*].

If the Light Earth touched the Earth of Darkness, it suffered pollution.

And if those illustrations of the Sun and Shadow which they bring forward do belong to things; if (they are) Earths, because they are dense bodies, they touched one another and were limited by one another . . . how is it (the Light) limited by the Darkness, seeing that the Light scatters the Darkness and rends it asunder and (*enters*) into its Domain, and . . . also its nature . . . ?

P. 98, l. 8 How could the Darkness limit the Light? L. 20.

L. 28.

For (as regards) the Sun and the Shadow which touch one another, the nature of the Sun has no [*gross and dense*] body . . . to destroy the Shadow, and the Light which is here . . . seeing that no other body is interposed. Moreover, a Shadow is not a nature (in) itself. For it is the child of that substance, either of stone or wood, standing in the

Mani's illustration of "Sun and Shadow." L. 38.

P. 99.

face of the Light ; and apart from the Light a Shadow cannot be produced.

If the nature of Light and Darkness is considered, Light ought to have made the Assault.

But if they say that, although there was no dense body which hinders the Light, the Light was not able to enter the Domain of that Darkness ; they confess, though unwillingly, that they are 'bound Natures' in Essence, and that they are unable to depart from their (respective) territories. But if they are 'bound Natures,' fixed in their places like mountains, how did they make an Assault on one another and enter into one another ? And it is very probable that if they do make an Assault on one another, the Light has extension and radiance and effulgence and rays, so that its effulgence may stretch afar. And if the rays of such a thing (as this Light) the nature of which is to scatter its rays afar, were limited by external compulsion, and it did not cross the border of the Darkness, how do they know how to [announce] that the Darkness made an Assault on the Light—when it (*i.e.*, the Darkness) has no (such) nature ? And the Light which ought to have been victorious did not even make a stand for itself.

Primitive Light and Light which is visible now must be different in kind.

For these things which they say do not occur in the case of this Darkness and Light which are here. Let them either appeal to the Light and Darkness which are here, or let them admit that this is not the same Light as exists there, but another. And if it is not the same, why do they worship this Sun if it is not the same as that which is in the Domain of the Good (Being) ? And if the Light and the Darkness are not the same, then this world was not mixed and brought into existence from these Natures. And whence then are these Luminaries which are in our sphere ?

P. 100, l. 14.

Mani's inconsistent Teaching.

O what (is to be said) of a Teaching whose failures are more than its artifices (can remedy) ! For as often as they need an argument they bring forward such proofs as these, and as often as an allegory suits them they concoct such tales as these. For Mani did not know that his deceit would enter the furnace of Truth. For where it suits him, he says that the Darkness made an Assault ; but he does not remember that this visible Light shows him clearly that this cannot

be so. Again, where it suits him, he asserts that the Light is the Light of Souls, that is to say, that the Luminous Nature of the Soul is created (in the form of) Light of the Soul. But the worship with which he worships the visible Luminaries refutes him. Or can it be that the visible Sun is perversely (represented as) the God of the invisible Souls ?

P. 101.

“ But,” he says, “ the Primal Man cast his five Bright Ones (ZIWĀNE) into the mouth of the Sons of the Darkness, in order that, as a hunter, he might catch them with his [net].” And here it is found that the Sons of the Light are their food, and that the Essence of the Sons of the Darkness [*is akin*] to the Sons of the Bright Ones. To which of them is it like—to the Light, which is visible, or to the Wind which is invisible ; to the Water which is cold, or to the Fire which is hot ? . . .

The Bright Ones whom the Primal Man cast to Darkness.

* * * * *

Know that this world was not made from these refined Natures, and it is necessary that . . . the creation of the world which was from such Natures. But if it was mixed out of these Bright Ones (ZIWĀNE), let them know that the refined Light was also made turbid by its opposite ; but, concerning its nature, he declared that it is visible, [*and¹ it consists of*] hot Fire and cold Water. And still our question stands, (namely), to which of them (*i.e.*, of the Bright Ones) was their (*i.e.*, of the Sons of the Darkness) Root (Essence) itself like ? But know (?), O Mani, that the fish of the deep and birds of the height are caught with a bait which is akin to them, as nature shows from which they bring illustrations. For from the quarter from which they bring illustrations, from there (they) can be refuted. . . . And if . . . them, how does it oppose them, if it is true that from their own (Elements), and from the (Elements) of Darkness, the whole of it (*i.e.*, Creation) does exist as they say ?

L. 26.

P. 102.

L. 15.

But as regards those who say that everything is created from nothing, and that devils and men have Freewill, and this Freewill produces good and evil actions—and if it be

The Creator has given Freewill.

¹ Read *ḥmā* for *—mā*, p. 101, l. 40.

not so they have no Freewill at all—it is impossible that we should stand up (and) contend (?)¹ against them either in words² or in writings. For a nature is changed into everything according to the will of the Creator; in order that he may show that (Creation comes) not from 'bound Entities' .

L. 44. like the Freewill of mankind [*so the devils (?) have Freewill*]

P. 103. . when those who persist in the arrogance of their Will do entreat and make supplication. And these (words) "thou has set thy heart on my servant Job, O (?) Satan" prove that he (*i.e.*, Satan) has Freewill just as several passages from the Old Testament. But there are many (such passages) belonging to the New (Testament), and these are sufficient to stand on behalf of us and to contend³ against our enemies.

From which of the Natures does the "Consuming Fire" come?

But, perhaps, this great confusion is a small thing to Mani; and it is right that we should turn again and ask him of this Consuming Fire, from which of these Natures does its consuming nature come? If it is from the Darkness, how does it injure the body which is akin to its nature? And if it injures its nature, it would be right that it should injure itself also, if that nature which springs from it is injured. But if its harmfulness is from the Light, how could the Sons of the Darkness imprison it in their midst without being injured, seeing that bodies, their kinsmen, are not able to stand before its breath? And if they are two, as if from the two Natures of Good and Evil, then how did they receive one another into union when they were opposed to one another? And all this (that he says, namely), 'they loved one another' is due to the fact that the difference between them is not known. And how did they become one mind, when they are both suspicious of the two Natures from which they have sprung? For when good and evil (persons) touch them (*i.e.*, the Elements contained in Fire), they are both injured equally by both of them. And the good Fire which springs from the good Nature does not recognize the good, its kinsmen, just as also the evil Fire does not discern the evil, its

P. 104.

¹ Read *ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢܝܘܢ* for *ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢܝܘܢ*, p. 102, l. 33.

² Read perhaps *ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢܝܘܢ* for *ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢܝܘܢ*, p. 102, l. 35.

³ Read *ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢܝܘܢ*, p. 103, l. 16.

relatives. And in virtue of the test applied to this one Compound (*i.e.*, Fire), we have a right to say that all that Mixture of the two Natures consists of one mingling of love. But if there are some of the Minglings which struggle with one another because they are opposed to one another, why does Fire not struggle with Fire ?

Is it not thus plain to an intelligent person that all the creatures exist in natures which are different from one another according to the Will of the Creator, He who prepared them for the numerous uses of mankind ? And there are some that are akin to one another, and there are some which are opposed to one another, according as it pleased the Will which arranges everything. But when they agree and differ deliberately, and exist in agreement and disagreement [*it is obvious*] that they are not made from Entities which differ. For if, on account of the enmity which they have towards one another, it is supposed that they are differentiated from one thing, then (it follows that) on account of the love which they have, they are known not to be made from Entities which are opposed to one another. For if those were created for our benefit (?) it is clear that we must recognize that likewise all of them were regulated for our sakes. For this is the true cause of their creation¹ (?). For if Light and Darkness exist for their own sakes, and not for our sakes, perhaps he is right (?) in thinking that they have enmity towards each other. But if they exist for our sake and are both useful to us—the Light for toil and the Night for rest. . . .

The Creation in all its diversity has come not from the Entities but from the Creator.

P. 105, l. 12.

The Diversity is due to the needs of mankind, not to Eternal opposition of Natures.

* * * * *

[*and they are useful to us*] even if they have a war with one another, but for us they both bring much peace and health. For when hot fire is necessary for us on account of its heat which is necessary to [*warm us*] it is supposed that because it is a consumer it is an enemy opposed to the things which are injured by it, and [*why*] do I (?) weary myself (?) with many details ? For these many things can be explained even in. . . . Since they are all useful to mankind they are

P. 106.

¹ Read *ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ* for *ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ*, p. 105, l. 29.

all at peace with one another, (namely, those) which are supposed to be created from different Entities. For on account of the uses of man, which are unlike one another, creatures were created for his service, and are unlike one another. For if his use were (only) one, then it would be a single thing which was necessary for his service. And if his service were one, there would be one thing for his use. But ¹ because everything is useful to him, everything was created for his use.

- P. 107. And even those things which are considered unnecessary are necessary (to promote) either his awe or his chastisement (?) or his fear, or in the course of his swimming through this world that this dwelling may not cause his nature to sink, (this dwelling) which also hated the true lodger (?); and the temporary lodging-place was acceptable to that Good (Being) in His grace and not . . . but (he set) upon him the constraint of many troubles, that on account of the troubles that are in the world he should hate the dwelling and desire to return to his true profit. These are the true causes on account of which the different creatures which are unlike one another were created.
- L. 15.

See how man is served by creatures possessing opposite qualities.

- But seek out completely² the creatures as related to one another, and seek them out again as related to man, and see that creatures which are not all useful to one another are all useful to man, and those which are thought to be strange (to one another) are all related to the service of man. For how is the bull like the horse in running? And (yet) the swiftness of the horse and the slowness of the ox are both useful to man.
- P. 108. And how is the winter like the summer in comparison? And (yet) the coldness of the one and the heat of the other are a source of help to man. And how are fierce things like gentle things? And (yet) they both do one common service. And, therefore, their histories are too long and their numbers are too great, and their kinds are too abundant that we should labour (?) to complete the comparison of them, but some tastes (*i.e.*, specimens) of them are sufficient to convince concerning them all.

¹ Read ¹ , p. 106, l. 41.

² Read , p. 107, l. 28.

But those Heretics who do not examine creatures according to the reason of their use in relation to us, but compare creatures with one another (saying) "how is the Darkness like the Light, and sweet like bitter, and that which harms like that which is harmed," when they bring comparisons of one thing with another, they cause the simple to err by means of their names, and because childhood has not (sufficient) knowledge to oppose them, it is perplexed. But also they are refuted by their own words. For because they perceived that everything was created as for our service—for there is no single thing among all these which is benefitted but they must needs make an assumption and say "that it is due to the Light which is mingled with all," and to that cause the benefit of everything is to be ascribed, [and] they have confessed, though unwillingly, that if a man is helped by them all, (then) they all were created on his account.

Manichæans attribute the usefulness of creatures to the Mixture of Light.

We turn, again, to examine that thing which they also investigate, (namely), of what use are harmful creeping things which have been created. But being eager to win, they have been quickly defeated. For how does a creeping thing do harm, seeing that even in it, as they have said, there is mixed in it some of the Good Nature which is scattered through everything? And where is the Evil that is not mixed in an innocent lamb, if it is scattered in everything? And so it is possible to distinguish between Good and Evil by means of wolves and lambs, and by means of serpents and doves, and the Mixing of Good and Evil has appeared in man alone! And how are wolves always evil and rapacious, and lambs always illtreated and innocent, whereas men sometimes ravage like wolves and sometimes are illtreated like lambs? Who is he who arranged these things . . . and who is he who [gave] to creatures a 'bound Nature' so that creatures [have a fixed disposition], and to man gave an independent Will?

They fail to account for the fixed nature of animals.

Cf. p. xix. (in med.)

P. 110, l. 2.

If the Darkness has Freewill—for behold as they say, by its Will it made an Assault, and, again, if the Light has an independent nature—if from two natures which have Freewill and Independence and Thought all creatures have come, why do

If Light and Darkness had originally Freewill, why do

not all things possess it? how (?)¹ is it that they all have not Life, and all have not Thought, as also they all have not independent Freewill? Does man alone come from a Mixing? And here it is found that man alone is from these two Natures which have these (qualities), because he also has such (qualities) as these. Whence therefore² came the rest of creatures and of beasts and plants which do not possess these (qualities), and are not from the two Natures from which man comes? Or let them be convinced that there is one Will which created everything from nothing, as was useful for Freewill and for our boldness³ (?) according to the reasoning which we wrote above.

Refutatory Summary. But consider also that according as it suits their cause they learn to construct discourses, but because they are (artificially) constructed they are reduced to nothing, and because they are decked out they are refuted, and because they are powerless they are not able to stand in a contest.

If the Sun comes from the Good Nature, why does it hurt the eye? For they say that everything which injures is from the Evil (Nature), just as everything which helps is from the Good (Nature). And they say concerning the Sun that it purifies from Evil, because it goes and comes every day to the Domain of the Good one, which is a purification. And yet the eye which fixes its gaze much upon it is injured by its strength, but if it fixes its gaze to look on the shadow or thick darkness it is not injured, and so it is found that the Sun of the Good (Being) is harmful.

They can not say that it only hurts the Body. And if they say that it harms the body which is akin to the Darkness, why did it not always harm it, but instead (of that) it actually gave Pleasure to it? And how is the Soul which is in the midst of it (and) akin to the nature of the Light harmed by the Body? For it causes it to sin, since the Bitterness (?) of the Darkness is not all like itself, as also the Pleasantness of Light is not the same in everything. For this visible Darkness by its colour confuses the eye, and does not imprison it; it is rather Satan who by Thought enslaves the Soul, and it is not the Colour (which does it), and this

¹ Read ~~for~~ for ~~for~~, p. 110, line 21.

² Read ~~from~~, p. 110, l. 35 (last word).

³ Read perhaps ~~for~~. "instruction," p. 110, l. 48 (first word).

(Darkness) which has Colour has no Thought. And the Primal Darkness from which they both come, on account of its (greedy) hunger, harmed the Light which it 'passionately desired and ate, and sucked in, and swallowed, and imprisoned in its midst, and mixed in its limbs.'

Cf. pp. xxxvi. l. 17; xliv. l. 16; lxxxix. l. 26.

And what is the nature of all of this harmful (Darkness), seeing that this Darkness, which is from it, confuses us by its Colour, and Satan, who is from it, by his Thought slew the Light, but the Primal Darkness crushed it with its teeth?

Primal Darkness and our Darkness must be different.

And just as this Darkness is not like itself, so neither is the Light (like itself). For this Sun by its Colour delights us, and not by its Voice, and the Soul which in his (Mani's) Teaching is akin to it (i.e., the Sun), delights by means of its Voice, and not by its Colour. And how is this Sun wanting in Thought (?), and how does the Darkness not possess Speech like its original Father? . . . the creation and learned . . . to give to them his Refining that he may bring them to the House of Life. And why does the Moon go on quietly, and why are the stars in silence? If they all come from an eloquent Nature, why are they not all eloquent like the Nature from which they come?

So the Light of the Sun and the Light of the Soul are different: the Sun is silent; the Soul can speak.

P. 113. l. 9.

And though Bodies are from the Darkness, as they say, they have Speech and Mind¹ (and) Beauty, and there is no . . . and as regards the lightly-moving Luminaries which are from an Element endowed with Speech which shuts up their mouths like a scorpion . . . let them be refuted concerning the Luminaries (and shown) that because they are lamps created for our service, the Sun and Moon are rightly deprived (?) of Speech. For by Speech [*our superiority in the rank of creatures is clearly demonstrated and the Luminaries are*] for our service, God . . . [*so the Luminaries*] are found against them, so that though they do not wish it they establish the word which Moses wrote. For when God created everything for the service of man, and that he might show that creatures were created to serve him, He did not give them Speech and Mind as (He did) to him that their inferiority Speech is

The Mosaic account of the Creation is the true one.

¹ Read perhaps **ܟܠܗܘܢܝܘܬܗܘܢ**, p. 113, l. 18.

God's gift
to man.
P. 114, l.
4.

Harmful
creatures
show
man's
superi-
ority, and
only
harmful
after the
Fall.

might prove about them that they were certainly for service, as, also, the superiority of man proves concerning him that he is certainly to be served. And not only harmful creatures did He create for the service of Adam; for it might be thought that if they were harmful they might be able to cause him harm, on this account God created those creatures which are fierce, and those which are terrible, and those which are cruel, and those which are harmful, in order that the sovereignty of Adam might be seen, set over all like that of God. But he possessed this power over them before he sinned, but they received this power against him after he had sinned. Therefore God said, let us make man in our Image, that is in the Image of His authority, so that just as the authority of God rules over all so also the yoke of Adam's lordship had been set over everything.

Man is
higher
than the
Parts of
the Light.

P. 115, l.
8.

Let them tell us, therefore—those who speak against the God of Moses—how they speak against that Scripture to the Truth of which they themselves are witnesses. For the Scripture declares that God gave to man dominion and authority over the earth, and behold now . . . [*we see*] that it is so, but, according to the scripture of the Heretics, it is not only to man that they give honour and dominion, but to all the Parts of the Light, because they say “they are from one Great and Glorious Essence.” And because they desired to give worship to those that serve, those Manichæans are sun-worshippers, who have compelled mankind who ought to be served to offer worship to the things of creation. Consider, then, how they are refuted by the things of creation. For it is a fact (lit., found) that they have magnified the Sun and the Moon more than mankind. Let them tell us which is greater—a thing that is excellent by its Light and its Effulgence, or a thing which is excellent by its Reason and Knowledge. For if a thing that is excellent by Light is superior, let them blot out their scriptures and annul their doctrines, and put their words to silence, and deny their faith and sit down and weep for themselves.

Why has
the Soul

And why have they not Radiance like fire, if that Radiance is excellent? So that they may also be asked (this question)

—if they are from that Effulgent Nature, why have they not the Radiance of their kinsman? If, therefore, some one produces a fire in a desert by the rubbing of a flint, or of something else, that he may make there a great flame from a great heap—of the two, (namely), that great fire which has a great Radiance, and the small mortal who has an excellent Mind, which is the greater? For if the rays of the fire have suffered¹ (?) themselves to be confined for a long time, the hidden beams² of the Mind (are such that) this creation has no power against them that they should be confined by it. For a lamp which can be confined in the midst of a vessel can prove concerning every Light that exists, that it can be confined in some hollow or other. But there is no hollow to confine the Mind; for it is confined in the body, and more excellent than it; and in the midst of creation, and is more than it; and in the hollow of creation, and it has no power against it; for it is limitless because even unto God who is not limited its extent reaches.

Let them, therefore, either be persuaded honestly, or let them be vehemently plied with questions: either man is more honourable than all, and all created things are assigned for his service, or else there is one head (?), the nature of Light, as they say. Why, then, are the Parts of this Light which are in a deaf man, deaf-mutes, and those which are in a blind man are changed into their opposite (*i.e.*, become Darkness). and those which are in a dumb man are silent, and those which are in a scorpion inject poison. And if the Evil (principle) has prevailed and overcome them, behold in doves and in lambs the Good Parts are many, why, therefore, are those in a dove not cunning, and those in lambs not wise? And so it is discovered that Darkness possesses cunning and wisdom . . . because this Darkness is cunning . . . the Good Nature . . . So also at all times the simplicity of that Good Nature has been conquered, and is conquered by this cunning of that evil Nature. For it has both power and

not Effulgence like the Luminaries? But man's Soul is greater than 'an Effulgence.' P. 116, l. 21.

If the Parts of the Light are mixed in all living creatures why are their powers and characters so different? P. 117, l. 19.

L. 43.

P. 118.

¹ Read perhaps *سقط* for *سقط*, p. 116, l. 23.

² Read *سقط*, for *سقط*, p. 116, l. 25.

wisdom. For a lion shows, and a wolf and a dragon, that they are cunning and crafty, and that they are wise and strong; just as a lamb, together with a dove, shows that they are weak and simple. So that simpleness and weakness show an inclination towards that Nature whose Parts are numerous in them. But if they bring other illustrations (to prove) that the Darkness bears witness to its own weakness,—for it always fails before the Light,—they have (thereby) refuted and discredited the starting-point of their doctrine, though they do not perceive it. For there they relate how the Darkness conquered the Light and ‘swallowed it.’

Why the
Mani-
chæans
can charm
serpents
and use
enchant-
ments.

But, perhaps, they are glorying over this, that they enchant the serpent and charm the scorpion, and “the cunning of the serpent is conquered by Enchantment, and the poison of the scorpion is charmed and conquered with it (*i.e.*, the serpent).” Wise are these investigators whose wisdom has conquered even the cunning of the serpent—that is to say, their wisdom is mocked at by the cunning of the Devil! For the Devil himself is enslaved that he may enslave, and he subjects himself to be their slave so as to become their lord. For he subjects himself in those things which do not harm him in order that they may be subject to him in those things which cause their death. For the Devil himself, on account of his subtlety, enters into the serpent as he was concealed in it from the beginning, and as those of the house of Adam thought that a serpent was speaking with them; and because they were not willing to contemplate the invisible (being), who had taken up his abode in it (*i.e.*, the serpent), they were drawn after the external (audible) voice which called them. But when they thought that they were obeying the serpent, they became the disciples of Satan who was in it, and they did not perceive it. But let us pass on with few words, because there is no time to finish the whole account of the Serpent. But even if we turn from the account of it, we come again to the account of his disciples—as it were from the Serpent to the sons of the Serpent. So since the Devil does everything by means of a serpent, at that time of Enchanting the Devil does not reveal himself that he is there. For he knows that they

P. 119.

P. 120.

flee from him because he is hateful. But he causes it to be supposed concerning the serpent that it is made subject to the Enchantment in order that they may believe that that Enchantment is from God, so that while they are persuaded on account of the serpent to learn Enchantment, they may be persuaded to serve Satan by means of Enchantment.

Let us ask, therefore, the Sons of the Serpent (*i.e.*, the Heretics), concerning the serpent as to how it is persuaded, or how it is enslaved by Enchantment, seeing that other natures, although they are Sons of the Evil One, as they say, are not persuaded by Enchantment. And how is that a single Nature, part of which is conquered and part of it not? If that Enchantment is powerful, why did it not enslave all the Parts of the Evil One? And if that Evil One is too powerful for Enchantment, [*weak and feeble*] is whoever was persuaded. And if the power of the Good (Being) is mixed in the Enchantment and the name of the True (Being) associated with it so that it (the Enchantment) becomes a weapon whereby serpents and scorpions and all the power of the Enemy may be overcome, then (we may ask) was there not a single sorcerer or enchanter in the Domain of the Good (Being) who might have gone forth and enchanted that great Dragon which was assaulting them in the beginning? But, perhaps, the Sons of the Light had not yet learnt this Enchantment. And from whom then does this discovery come after a time? For owing to the lack of this Enchantment perhaps, which had not yet been learnt that All-devouring¹ (Serpent, or Dragon) was not bound which crawled forth from its Domain and swallowed the innocent ones, the Sons of the Light. And what authority did Jesus give his disciples to conquer serpents and scorpions—the authority of Enchantment or the authority of Faith? And if Faith is from God, He (thereby) asserts that Enchantment is from Satan. He, therefore, by his cunning arranged such fetters as these, allowing himself to be bound in order to bind; so that when they come to bind him by Enchantment he may turn and bind them by impiety.

How are they unable to conquer all kinds of Evil by their Enchantments?

S. Luke x. 19.

P. 121.

Cf. pp. xxxvi. l. 17; xliv. l. 16; lxxxv. l. 4.

¹ Lit., "that which sucks in (its prey)"—the word is found in the Hymn of the Soul, see 'Texts and Studies,' Vol. V., part 3, p. 12, 13b, and p. 20, 58b. Wright translated "loud breathing." The rendering given above is based on the passages to which reference is made in the margin.

The Mani-
chæan in-
terpreta-
tion of
John i. 4.
P. 122.

And how do they say 'the Primal Man'? For even with regard to the name of this one they go far astray. For they are content to understand the Scriptures in a perverse way. For the passage is written in the Gospel that "the Life is the Light of man"; but the Greek Gospel explains that the Life is the Light of men. They have combined and made from the word 'man,'¹ as it is written in the Syriac (the explanation) that this (word) refers to a (single) man, that is the Primal Man, the Father of the Five Shining Ones whom they call ZIŪĀNĒ (the Bright Ones).

Opinions
of Mani
and
Bardaisan
con-
trasted.

And those things which Bardaisan makes (*i.e.*, considers to be) five Entities, Mani makes (to be) from a single Essence. And this conflict is not ours. For it is right for us to lift ourselves from between two serpents in order that they may fight with one another for the victory which is itself altogether a defeat in other respects. Because Mani was unable to find another way out, he entered, though unwillingly, by the door which Bardaisan opened.

Their
views
about the
making of
the Body.

P. 123.

For because they saw that this Body is well put together, and that its seven senses are arranged in order, and that there is in the heart an instrument for the impulses of the Soul, and that there is in the tongue a harp of speech, they were ashamed to speak blasphemy against it (*i.e.*, the Body) in plain terms, and they had recourse to cunning, and divided it into two parts. But they suppose that its nature (?) is from Evil, and its workmanship from the Archons, and the cause of its arrangement is from Wisdom. And she (*i.e.*, Wisdom) showed an image of her own beauty to the Archons, and to the Governors, and she deceived them thereby so that when they were stirred up to make (something) in imitation of what they saw, each of them should give from his treasure whatever he had; and that owing to this cause their treasures should be emptied of what they had snatched away.

And since Mani saw in this place that he was not able to cross the river at any other place, he was forced to come and cross where Bardaisan crossed. For he, too, spoke thus concerning

¹ Ephraim means that the Syriac word may be taken either as singular or plural.

the Primal Man : “ By means of the image which he showed to the Sons of the Darkness he compelled them.”

And because here they both say the same thing, the same thing may be said against them both, so that by means of the Truth which is not divided against itself, the two divided ones may be overcome, (the two) who in this passage have clothed themselves with (a semblance of) agreement against the Truth. But a single passage which the true Apostle spoke dissolves their fabrications without trouble. For he said that ‘ your Bodies are temples of God, and whoever shall destroy the temple of God, him will God destroy.’ If, therefore, the Body belongs to corruption, as they say, who cut off hope as regards their Bodies, why is he destroyed who destroys it, seeing that even when he does not destroy it the Body pertains to corruption? But if he is destroyed who destroys it, it is clear that its Architect and Regulator is God, and not the Sons of the Darkness as Mani said, nor the foolish Governors as Bardaisan said.

Their
views
refuted
by Scrip-
ture.

1 Cor. vi.
19.
1 Cor. iii.
16, 17.
P. 124.

THE END OF THE FOURTH DISCOURSE.

THE FIFTH DISCOURSE AGAINST THE FALSE TEACHINGS.

True, un-
like false,
obedience
will not
listen to
seductive
Heresy.

P. 124. l.
38.

BUT true obedience is the likeness of a pure betrothed (maiden), who is not drawn after the voices of strangers ; and the ear which turns aside a little from the Truth is like the Adulteress who turns aside from her consort ; and the ear which is led to all Teachings is like the harlot who is persuaded by every one who calls her. Let us, therefore, refute that erring obedience which is infected by the words of the liar, which, instead of the name of the true Bridegroom, loves the name of its corrupter. For it has consented that the name of Mani should be proclaimed over it, and not the name of the Messiah.

See how
Mani, the
last of the
great
heretics,
is refuted
by Ezek.
viii.

P. 125. l.
18.

Ezek.
viii. 8.

And because this is the Teaching which comes from the party of Marcion and Valentinus and Bardaisan and he is the last of all. that is to say, the dregs, lower than that above him, so this one (*i.e.*, Mani) is more abominable than those before him. But in the evil times of the world this Teaching has sprung up in the world's latter time. And because it has fought much against the Truth, let us speak a little against it, and it is not we, but the Truth which speaks against it. But the substance of this Teaching while appearing small and insignificant to those simple ones who are not acquainted with it is like the hole which the Blessed Ezekiel saw in the wall. For though that hole was insignificant and small, great evils and numerous abominations and the secret things of shame were inside it. But that passage (of Scripture) which commanded Ezekiel to dig in the wall which was a veil over the hateful things, by the power of that holy passage, let us also remove the veil of this foul teaching so that the hated things inside it may be exposed.

But I do not wish to speak of all of them because they are P. 126.
unclean, just as the holy Prophet was unable to make his
mouth a channel for the hateful filth. . . .

But let us be like the illustrious Prophet (observing) how,
as often as it was possible for him to say (something), he said
(it); also (let us observe) what he said, also that he did not
(utter) all these things, but only some of them, those things
which are omitted being intelligible to the wise by means of these
things which are uttered. Therefore the holy Voice commanded Ezek. viii.
the Prophet obedient in everything (and said) 'go in and see the 9, 10.
great abominations which they are doing here.' And he went
in and saw all the idols of the House of Israel portrayed on the
wall. So also Mani painted in colours on a scroll—as some Mani's
of his disciples say—the likenesses of the wickedness which he paintings.
created out of his mind, placing on hideous (pictures) the name
of the Sons of the Darkness that it might declare to his disciples
the ugliness of the Darkness that they might abhor it, and placing
on beautiful things the name of the Sons of the Light "in order
that its beauty may in itself indicate to them that they should P. 127.
desire it," as he said, "I have written them in books and pic-
tured them in colours; let him who hears them in words also
see them in an image, and let him who is unable to learn them
from . . . learn them from pictures." And perhaps he actually
worships these likenesses which are pictured there.

But the Voice said again to the Prophet: 'Turn again and see greater abominations than these'; and he went in and saw Ezek. viii.
women sitting and weeping for Tammuz. And wherein was 13, 14.
this abomination greater than the first ones except that those
images of heathenism were considered to be images of the living
God, whereas here Tammuz is being worshipped and bewailed,
idle and adulterous as he is? So on this account this abomina-
tion was greater than those. And, therefore, corresponding to
those vain mourning women who were bewailing the god Tammuz
who was slain on account of his adultery by a wild boar,—whom,
moreover, they suppose to be a god,—come see here also those
idle women of the party of Mani—those whom they call 'the
Righteous Ones' (ZADDIQĀTHĀ), because they multiply wicked-
ness. For they also are idle, and sit on account of the Bright
The
"Righteous",
Women,
among the
Mani-
chæans.
P. 128.

Ones (ZIRWĀNE), the Sons of the Light, "whom the Darkness came forth and swallowed."

Ezek. viii.
15, 16.

Again He who commanded said to him who was commanded : "Turn again and see greater abominations than these"; and he went in and saw between the porch and the altar—for beside the porch was built the altar of their offerings—"about twenty-five men with their backs to the Temple of the Lord." But by the word 'backs' he means their nakedness. And by reason of this ignominy which they displayed over against the Temple of the Holy One, this sin was greater than the first ones, and the middle ones; and these, it is said, were rising early and worshipping the Sun. And in the case of these it is written that they worshipped only the Sun; but Mani went on to teach his disciples to worship the Moon. For they worship the Sun and the Moon, luminaries by which those who worship them become dark. But when the Sun comes to the West they worship the West, as do the Marcionites their brethren. For it was right that by this worship the common kinship should be manifested.¹ And because the name of . . .

Mani-
chæan
worship
of the
Lumi-
naries.

P. 129.

* * * * *

L. 20.

who said . . . that a place (?) limits him who can be limited ;

L. 27.

they wish (?) to flee from him. . . . For if the heaven is enclosed (?) by a gulf which any one wishes to cross . . .

L. 33.

how much more exceedingly is He in every place whom gulfs and places are not able (to contain)! But these abominations which Ezekiel saw, perhaps they are allegories . . . the Manichæans believe thus. For he assumed at the beginning two Entities and two Domains, and two Elements, and two Roots. Let him, therefore, be asked about the two if there are only two ;

Mani's
teaching
about an
all con-
taining
Space.

P. 130, l.
4.

for each of these two because it is a single thing, must be altogether like itself. But if there is in it anything which is not like it, it is falsely called one. For it is clear that that thing which is not like it in nature is not part of its nature. Let us hear, therefore, when he explains (the change of) one into many which are not like it in nature, nor is it like them, nor are these like those. And first of all he assumes a Space, and how is a Space

¹ Read perhaps ܘܨܘܒܝܝܬ, p. 129, l. 4 (first word).

like God? For one limits and the other is unlimited; and one confines and the other is not confined; and the one has Personality and Knowledge and Power and Wisdom, and in Him (?) are Grace and Freedom, and the other has none of these things, though concerning the nature of the Space there is an undeniably great discussion. For not only is the Space not like God, but [*neither is it like*] itself (*i.e.*, homogeneous), (being) dark and luminous as they say it is there. And let the discussion be choked by means of inquiry, and this is the noose which they have thrown round their own necks. For let them be asked concerning that Space, whether half of it is dark and half of it luminous, and whether half of it is good and half of it is evil, and whether its sides which are towards the Good are like the Good, and its gulfs which are towards the Bitter are like the Darkness. If they say that the half of it towards the Good is Good, and the half of it towards the Evil is Evil, this is difficult to accept; for since that Space which confines both of them is one, how is half of it good, and half of it evil? For they cannot make two (separate) Spaces, and suppose a third Space between Space and Space. Concerning the property of this third Space there is a third inquiry as to what it is, and whose it is, and whom it resembles. For of necessity, that Space which confines is one, and many differences and boundaries are found in the midst of it. For boundaries do not bound and limit Space as if it came to an end, but they bound things in the midst of Space, that is to say, either houses or cities or lands or mountains or plains or kingdoms or peoples who are bounded one with another by the sea or dry land. p. 131.

But if they say that that Space is altogether the same (*i.e.*, homogeneous), though (?) it is stretched over the Good and over the Evil, it is clear that either it belongs to both of them or that both of them belong to it. For by the one yoke which fell upon the two Entities they have become subject to those two, (namely), the great yoke which ruled over them (?) And, therefore, even the distinct are not distinct. For the equal yoke cast upon them does not allow them to escape from being themselves conformed to its equality, except in this respect, (namely), p. 132.

that a person who is in the midst of Space cannot occupy the whole of that Space.

And if it be not so, fashion in thy mind that whoever is in the midst of that Space, and has a body must necessarily ¹ be limited also. For the place which limits him is greater than he is. But anything which is not in Space cannot be limited; there is no Space to limit it.

Bardai-
san's
Hymns to
Space are
impious.

P. 133, l.
10.

And on this account that pre-eminence which the Teachings give to Space, the true Teaching gives to God, because He is His own Space. For greater are the praises which Bardaisan uttered concerning Space than those which he uttered concerning the God in the midst of Space, which (praises) are not suitable for Space, but for God. For if they are suitable for Space their Space is found to be more excellent than their God. But the true word (*i.e.*, piety) demands praises as it demands acts of worship, and presents them to the one great and adorable (Being). For as it is not right to worship idols that there may not be many gods with the One, so it is not right to bestow the title of 'Existence' on Space along with God. And as it is not right to postulate another power which is able to command God, so it is not right to postulate a Space which is able to limit God. For if He is made subservient in one respect, this is a great blasphemy. For, as He does not command all if He is commanded, so He does not limit all if He is limited. For if the (title of) Commander is necessary to His lordship, the (title of) Space is also necessary. For if all commanders are under His command, as they say, all places too are included within His greatness, as we say, that is, as the Truth requires.

P. 134.

Mani
makes
God
depend
upon a
Luminous
Earth.

Is. xlv.
18.

But he went on to say that that God has also a Luminous Earth, and that He dwells upon it. And as he made Him depend upon Space, so he made Him depend upon an Earth. For he did not say that that Earth was a thing made and arranged for the sake of His possessions: as the true Prophet said concerning the true God: 'not in vain did he create it, but that His Creation might dwell in it.' And as He made the Earth for the lower beings He made Heavens for the higher beings, and those things and these (exist) for the sake of beings

¹ Read perhaps **ܘܠܗܝ** for **ܘܠܗܝܐ**, p. 132, l. 34.

made and created, spiritual and corporeal. For He before His creation was not dependent upon a Heaven on which to dwell, nor upon a Space (or Domain) within which to be.

But as for Mani and Marcion, the one before, the other after, with Bardaisan in the middle, one inquiry is directed against the three of them. But let Marcion be asked first as (being) the first—if those Heavens actually exist for the Stranger it is clear that he is not one Entity, but two unlike one another. And if a Space surrounds him, then again there are three Entities, and the Space is not like the Heavens, nor do they both resemble God. God is found to be weak and inferior to the two of them. For it is found that a Space surrounds him as being an inferior, and that the Heavens bear him up as being weak, not to mention other things which we shall not give at length, which indeed refute Mani also. For he names a Space and an Earth along with God as an actual existence. But Bardaisan (who was) in the middle and (was) clever, chose one and rejected the other; and this (he did) in order that he might thereby refute his neighbour, and he did not know that that of which he was ashamed is the companion of that which he affirmed. For he said concerning God that He is in the midst of Space, but he does not [*attribute actual existence to the Heavens as Marcion did nor to a Luminous Earth as Mani*]. . . . [*Yet in his Teaching like them he limited God. For he made Space*] support God and he did not know that there is something outside God which surrounds him; (and that) there is something beneath God which bears him up. . . . a self existent Space like God. For both of them exist also, so that either the latter was dissolved like the former, or the former was established like the latter.

But, again, Mani goes on to make many things, five Natures which he calls ZIWÂNE (the Bright Ones). And how, if he assumes two Roots, can there be many (beings) confined in the midst of each of them? For how from [*one source can such diverse objects come as Light and Water, Wind and Fire?*] . . . These show concerning their nature as also Water and Light show that their Root is not a single one. The fashioner of this Teaching was foolish even if he was clever. For he says (there are) two

God and Space in the Heresies. Answers to the opinion of Marcion, P. 135, l. 14. of Mani, and of Bardaisan. L. 41. support God L. 48. P. 136. L. 11. Again, how can Mani speak of his Five Elements as coming from One Root? L. 39.

P. 137. Roots that we (?) may not say to him as Bardaisan said, (namely, that there are) five Roots (*one*) above (*the other*). . . .

* * * * *

L. 18. divide one Nature into many Natures those which are composite. . . . And this is the refutation of those two [*that Water and Fire and the other Bright Natures would injure one another*

L. 23. *if they existed together as neighbours*] . . . without the contact of the Darkness which he represents as the opposite of the Entities, those Entities are found to be injurers of one another if they are really in existence. For thus their Existence demands, and so experience proves. But if they were created from nothing, the Will of the Maker is able to make them be at peace with one another, and to part¹ them (in anger) one from another, when they were injuring, and being injured.

How could the Entities be in contact with one another if the Space was infinite ?

And, therefore, let us inquire briefly concerning these two Roots, leaving on one side many questionings in their statements, (let us ask) whether they (*i.e.*, the Entities) were in contact with one another, or far from one another, or whether one was below or above the other. And if he says that one was opposite to the other, then Marcion and Bardaisan are more subtle than he. For Bardaisan supposes that the Darkness was beneath, below everything; and Marcion represents the Stranger as being above everything. Therefore (it may be said), that if that Space in which they all dwell is one, and the length of that Space is immeasurable, and its breadth infinite. what (is meant by saying) that all those Entities were dwelling in the same neighbourhood, and one above the other or one behind the other? Was there not a chance that they would be scattered and be far from one another in that Space which is infinite?

Why the False Teachers have affinities with one another.

So this proves concerning their Teaching that it is the elaborate arrangement of men. For the cause of this nearness of their Gods who are near to one another is evidently this, (namely), that it is because the false (Teachers) are near to one another; on this account they bring their Gods together. And because they are imprisoned in the midst of one hollow of

¹ Or perhaps "make them distant," see note (a), p. 138.

Creation, therefore they have imprisoned their Gods within one Space. And because they are not able to go outside of this world, lest the argument should be brought against them 'Whence did you perceive their Gods'? they have managed to construct causes which result in their Gods being in the midst of this world so that the effect might be that from these Gods they received the revealed Teaching concerning their secrets. And as children who play on a wide staircase, when one sits on the lowest step his companion, in order to anger him, sits on the middle step, and in order to resist both another sits on the upper step, even such are the heralds of Error. To resist each other they have named Places some of which are more compressed (*i.e.*, lower) than others, and Gods who are higher than their companions. In the sport of children the (same) story (?) is found. For children who are older than one another have ranks one above another. But they (the Teachers) have named empty Domains and idle Gods who do not exist, and futile stories which have no root.

And because Mani saw that before him his two elder brethren, namely Marcion and Bardaisan, that one had said, 'below' ¹ and the other 'above'—because he saw that if he said 'below,' that had been said; and if he said 'above,' he saw that it was not new (*lit.*, ancient), not knowing how he should represent the two Entities which he introduced, when he saw that (the arrangement of them) above and below was taken, he represented them as being one *opposite* the other *on a level*.

For he, too, prophesied by the spirit of his brethren, and [the afore-mentioned . . .] HŪLĒ² (*i.e.*, Matter) is found in all of them, for it is only in the Church that it is not found. And if HŪLĒ belongs to the evil Existence as they affirm [*and because the Church does not preach HŪLĒ in the Church, HŪLĒ is not in the Church, because it is not in the Scriptures of the Church*], among all of them it (*i.e.*, HŪLĒ) is altogether because it is all found in their Scriptures.

¹ *I.e.*, Had placed the Entities one below the other.

² Cf. p. lxiii. l. 6.

P. 139, l. 19.

P. 140.

In Mani's teaching his two Roots are placed 'opposite one another on a level.'

The False Teaching about HŪLĒ.

P. 141, l. 6.

Why did
Marcion
introduce
HŪLĒ
into his
Teaching?

And if Mani and Bardaisan have called the Maker God, perhaps a way might have come to them to call HŪLĒ also (God). For it is the cause of the Making as they say. As for Marcion who compelled him to rend again his tunic and dance with the wanton. . . . ? For if he says concerning the Stranger that he is not the Maker this would be sufficient to put him in error. For he said that the Good One came—he who did not make (things)—and gave life to the Sons of the Maker; and because he had no property in the realm of the Creator it would not be necessary for him to undertake the cause of HŪLĒ. And if in order to show that the Maker tricked HŪLĒ the Stranger Himself did not keep faith with him when he came, and transferred by fasting and prayer the bodies which were from HŪLĒ, and after he worked all this work in them he sent them by death to the realm of HŪLĒ, he removed them without compensating the Maker in that he raised the bodies of Enoch and Elijah to Heaven, and promised resurrection in his Scriptures as He said to Daniel, 'Go, rest till the end, and thou shalt stand in thy time at the end of the days.' And who forced Marcion to introduce the subject of HŪLĒ except HŪLĒ herself. For she who is preached could not fail to make a revelation concerning her name by the mouth of her Preachers.

P. 142.

Dan. xii.
13.

The sub-
ject of
HŪLĒ
being
common
to the
Teaching
of the
three, the
refutation
of one is
the refuta-
tion of all.

And, therefore, this HŪLĒ which is found in them all is a sign set upon all of them, so that by one sign set upon all of them they may be known to be all one. But wild asses are weak against a strong lion. When they see him they verily gather against him as one who is strong, and victorious, but he rends one and as for the many who have gathered, he scatters all of them by means of one. The Truth also in its splendour when it conquers one of the false (Teachers), by means of that one who fails, defeats all those who have gathered together. For all who are in Error are limbs one of another. But when a body is caught by one of its limbs, the limbs also which are not caught are caught by the one which is caught. For it is written concerning those former deceivers, "All those who have come are thieves and robbers." But blessed is he who is able to bear insult (lit., that which stirs indignation), and blessed is he again whom their insult does not reach at all, so as to perturb him.

P. 143.

S. John
x. 8.

But what insult is greater than this of the Heretics who say that the Good is "refined little by little and goes up"? O the unspeakable madness! For it would be right that some other Good should be *added* to the first in order that the Evil Constituent might be weaker so that it might not prevail over it and drown the world. But they are like fruits whose exterior, when they are dry, deceives those who see them. But when they are squeezed between two hard things, then the dryness within them is convincingly revealed. These (men) also are set between two true words so that all their long fabrication is dissolved briefly.

What madness to suppose that Good is refined and goes up!

P. 144.

For if the Evil which is mixed in us, as they say, injures us, then one of these two things can be, either that that Evil can be separated from us that it may not hurt us, or the Good Constituent may increase in us so that the Evil which is in us may be weakened so that it may not kill us. But I had wished to repeat this statement, (?) not that when it is repeated this statement gains power, but that when it is repeated the Hearer gains power . . . because those Hearers whose faithfulness has opened their ears even from one . . . receive it. But such Hearers . . .

How the evil Constituent could be conquered.

L. 28.

* * * * *

If, therefore, . . . is mixed in the Evil Element, the Souls are existing in an evil condition, how can they exist in a good condition when the force of Evil increases in them? For in proportion as the Good (Element) 'is refined and goes up,' so the Evil (Element) becomes fierce,¹ and goes down. And just as that Good which has been 'refined,' and has 'gone up' is . . . and victorious (?) and reigns, so that other Good which is left behind is [*defeated*]² and stifled. For the victory which is gained by those Souls who have been 'refined,' and have 'gone up' has (only) increased the defeat of those Souls who are left behind. For in proportion as all (?) the Parts of the Light have been mixed as one . . . in Evil they would lessen the Evil by their quantity so that it might not stifle them. Therefore, just as

P. 145, l. 12. If the Good "goes up," how can the Evil be conquered here?

¹ Read perhaps *كججج*, "becomes gross," for *كجج*, p. 145, l. 24.

² Read *سجج*, p. 145, l. 31 (first word).

those Souls which are 'refined and go up,' are victorious and exultant (?) so those Souls which are left behind are defeated¹ and stifled; but not even now are the Souls able to be refined, and to go up because the Foulness of Evil lies heavily upon them.

P. 146.

No Power
akin to
the Souls
could
deliver
them
without
being
over-
whelmed.

Because that other Power (of Good) comes and is not confused, it is clear that it is not of the same nature as these Souls which are stifled. And instead of these Souls coming who struggled with the Evil, why at the first did not that Power come whose nature cannot be overwhelmed by 'the Floods of Evil'? But if that Power is found to be of the same nature as those Souls that are overwhelmed, it is evident without dispute that by means of that Foulness which 'intoxicated them he who comes is perturbed.'²

If the
Body is
essentially
Evil,
Truth
cannot
come from
Teachers
clothed
with such
a Body?

And, therefore, accordingly to this infallible refutation and undeniable evidence and unanswerable demonstration and experience which neither errs nor causes to err, Marcion, too, and Mani and Bardaisan, because they were clothed with the Body which they represent as from the Element of Evil, were unable to be good in it, because, as they say, it is from the Evil One, nor (could they be) upright, because it is vicious; nor (could they be) true, because it lies; nor (could they be) pure, because it is turbid. And let them not be angry because these things have been spoken against them by us. For their mouth overthrows them, not our tongue; and their Teaching, not our Will; and their Error, not our free Choice. For they said that the Body comes from the Element of Evil and lies; and it is clear that because their Souls were playing on this hateful harp, the 'intoxicating Foulness of the Body' did not allow the melody of Truth to be played on its strings. And, therefore, they have decided against themselves that they are preachers of Error, owing to the fact that they are mixed in the Body which comes from Error according to their decision. For it (*i.e.*, the Body) speaks against them.

P. 147, l. 9.

The
orthodox

But if, as we say, the Soul is able by means of the senses

¹ Read **سبح**, p. 145, l. 48 (last word).

² Read **جسد**, p. 146, l. 33 (first word).

of the Body to hear the Truth, and to speak what is right,—for to us, who are Sons of the Church, the function of teaching properly belongs, inasmuch as we confess, according to the Preaching of the Prophets and Apostles, that the Body is akin to all the beauties of the Soul, and is a partner with it in all good things, since it is able to learn by means of it, and teach by means of it,—it (*i.e.*, the Body) is, as it were, a trumpet for it; for by its (*i.e.*, the Body's) mouth, it (*i.e.*, the Soul) preaches Truth in the World, and it is a pure harp for it, by means of which it sounds forth Truth in creation. For along with it (*i.e.*, the Body) the Soul is adorned just as along with it the Soul is defiled. For they are alike in the matter of gain and loss, in every respect like friends they suit one another. For (they come) to the struggle like companions and to the (victor's) crown as partners, even if it is thought that it (*i.e.*, the Soul) contends in it (*i.e.*, the Body) against it. But it does not escape the notice of a wise (Hearer) that the triumph is on behalf of both. For when the Body is chaste and the Soul chaste it is a common gain, just as also when the Soul is impure and the Body impure it is a common loss. And nature shows about this that when they are foul they are both called by one Evil name, and when they are fair they are both called by one good name. And if both . . . that they both teach . . . For it is the speech of it all. And when it (*i.e.*, the Soul) is . . . it (*i.e.*, the Body) is. . . . For . . . which are from them and in them and other things which are not from them are not spoken convincingly (?) against them. . . . Obedience . . . by persuasion . . . in him who is not persuaded. For by the visible limbs of the Body the invisible movements of the Mind (*are known*. . . .)

teaching about the Body: it is the instrument and partner of the Soul.

P. 148, l. 15.

P. 149, ll. 1, 4, 8.

Ll. 11, 14.

Ll. 18, 20.

For just as the Body is beside (?) its real (?) Shadow so also the Soul is beside the Body. For the Shade (?) of the Body has no power apart from its Body, upon its movement (*it is dependent*), nor has the *Body* any power apart from the Soul, upon its guidance in everything . . .

The Shadow depends on the Body, but Body and Soul are more vitally one.

* * * * *

And, perhaps, because of . . . which is between the Body and the Soul there is this Shadow so that by the visible Shade the invisible strife may be scattered. For if the Shade

P. 150, l. 12.

[shows itself the servant of the Body] . . . the Body, too, proclaims who can influence it according to its power. For they teach by means of one another that in teaching . . . But the symbols (?) . . . which thou hast heard are not in the case of everything. For behold the real Body. . . .

- L. 37. Why is the Shadow loved just as also the Body is loved? No, and why not?—because the Shadow is not able to hear and see like the Body. But the Body lives with the Soul. . . .
- P. 151. For . . . spring up and are seen by means of it. For the Shadow cannot see or hear, either with the Body or apart from it. But the Body sees without its Shadow, without it it (*i.e.*, the Body) hears and speaks; it does not exist with it and by means of it; it does not¹ hang in it when it is weary. But the Soul and the Body exist one in the other, and one of them cannot exist apart from its companion.

See, further, the intimacy of Soul and Body.

But let us introduce subjects into the midst of other subjects in order that they all may tend to edification. Let us ask the Heretics who lay hold of the Soul and leave the Body, though the Soul in its love and conduct has not forsaken the Body. But the Body exists between the two of them—between the Soul and the Shadow—one invisible within, the other outside it—they are both bound in this middle vessel. The Shadow is the contemptible object, but the Soul is the glorious object. But if the Body is something dependent, it is not dependent on the Shadow that it should borrow anything from the Shades. For it uses its own limbs as real objects. But the Soul which is great and perfect, how is it altogether dependent on the Body? For it can do nothing without it. For hearing enters into it by the ears, smell comes to it by the body's inhalation, it (*i.e.*, the Soul) sees forms through the Body's eyes, it tries tastes with the Body's mouth, with the Body's heart it discerns knowledge, and with the whole of it all manner of things. By the touch of its fingers it obtains a great and subtle perception, it touches with the finger the veins,² and learns things that are invisible. It describes everything that

P. 152.

This acuteness of the Physician's touch.

¹ ܐܠ , p. 151, l. 13, seems to belong to ܐܠܗ , l. 12.

² Read ܐܘܪܝܢ , p. 152, l. 15 (last word).

is in a diseased Body as if it (*i.e.*, the Soul) had entered into it. It describes to the sick man invisible things that are concealed in him. From it he learns (the truth) concerning his ailment which he has, [*the sick one does not cease to understand, the finger becomes as it were the speaking mouth;*] when it calls, no one L. 28. hears, for it calls quite silently; it speaks with him, while those who are near at hand hear it not. It describes to him his suffering and recounts to him his trouble. And there is a passage where he said deceitfully, Likewise when the end comes, the Soul learns all these perceptions by means of the Body; and just as these things which are here are learnt by means of it, so likewise these things which are to come are acquired in conjunction with it. And if these things which are to come are more subtle than the Body in accordance with the places P. 153. (in which they are), so it (*i.e.*, the Body) will undergo change. For that Will which made it gross for the gross purpose which is here present, made for it that Spiritual abode which is yonder. When Elijah was on the Earth he lived as an earthly Elijah's Body. one, and he was taken up to the Spiritual (abode) . . . from taken to Heaven. the earthly (sphere) . . . above the Heavens. For during L. 18. forty days he disciplined his body by the rigour of fasting . . . he did not hunger nor did he thirst when he was running . . . L. 21. in the Body after him . . . L. 25.

* * * * *

[*who . . . true from the Scriptures for he receives the truth by L. 37. Experience, and whoever is true, from the . . . Scriptures declares the truth*]. For the Mind was sufficient for the Soul apart from the Body; the Mind does not find the Body apart from the Soul; the Soul was not sufficient for it; it acquired P. 154. Understanding on account of the Body, nor does the Body bring it to an end since by means of its Soul it (*i.e.*, the Body) acquired Animal-Life, by means of one another they acquire for one another, and they are a mirror of one another. And just as they both perceived each other by the Mixing of both of them together, so also by means of death they both forget each other.

If the Soul has Thought without the Body, has it need also? Why did the Soul put on the Body? And if motion and action exist, it is likewise not in need of the Body. And if it is not in need (of it), how was it compelled

to clothe itself with the Body? And if it clothed itself (with the Body) because it was compelled, it (*i.e.*, the Soul) awaits it (*i.e.*, the Body) in the Resurrection so that in both worlds it (*i.e.*, the Body) may be to it (*i.e.*, the Soul) a brother and a servant and a companion.

P. 155. But if it has a Soul of its Nature (?) why is it dependent upon an alien (Body)? And if it pleased the Animal-Life to put on the Coat of Skin, over whom is its skin (laid), since its skin is related to skin? How pleasing it was to the subtle Nature of the Soul to put on the gross Coat of the vile Body! But it was vile according to their account. But it was not vile because the Soul praises him who clothed it with the rational¹ covering of intelligent Senses in order that one might regulate the other by Knowledge.

And what can give it that alien Sense which is mixed in it, seeing that, as they say, it is an alien nature? And if it is alien it is opposed to it. But, if he had given it blindness (?) and not sight he would then be depriving it of sight.

The Body ignores the Shadow: why is the Soul so intimate with the 'vile' Body?
L. 33. For the Body has a Shadow; as a despised thing it . . . it, it does not call it (*i.e.*, the Shadow) into its good things nor bring it into its evil things. But what has happened to the Soul [*that it made the Body its companion, and makes it such an intimate . . . ?*]

L. 33. And even the dream which it (*i.e.*, the Soul) sees apart from it (*i.e.*, the Body) when it (*i.e.*, the Body) is asleep, when it awakens and . . . [*the Soul requires the Body to tell of the dream it has seen; the dream really comes from both of them*].

L. 43. The dream, therefore, which it sees apart from the Body the Soul does not (really) see apart from it; by it (*i.e.*, the Body) and with it and in the midst of it and in . . . [*the Soul has its dream*] . . . [*they depend upon each other, in slumber and in sleep they are not separated from one another*] since they

P. 156, l. 6. are mingled with each other. But in death . . . they are separated, and . . . from one another—as they were mixed together [*in hope . . . on their Resurrection—since they have their Resurrection as a dream so that just as after their sleep Recollection (?) comes to both, so after death. . . .*]

¹ Read ~~revel~~, p. 155, l. 3 (first word).

(And when) the Body has slumbered the Soul forgets that it is in its . . . when . . . it sees [gold], and yet it is not gold, it sees silver, and yet it is not silver, it does not know itself where it goes astray . . . with its (*i.e.*, the Body's) senses, and it becomes like the pure (ideal form) (?) which he left behind . . .

[*And above (in the other world) if its companion left it when rational and went to sleep, it lost all its memory,—when it entered the Body and was clothed with the senses, then it gained perception, and it sees even in a dream because it has the Body; but it loses its senses in death.*¹ Nor does that thing left behind (SHARKANA) come to it. For if sleep deprived² the SHARKANA of all its memory, would not death . . . as it is simple too. How did the Soul enter the Body and put on its grossness . . . For it is correctly clear that the Body does not help the Soul's going up, which he ascribes to it, nor does it receive from it its going up, which he proclaims . . . What then can be the cause of the Soul's coming down from the House of Light, so that it is born into the gross body?]

But as for the Soul . . . of its house perturbs it, as they say, and all its search (?) belongs to blasphemy, and all its fullness belongs to deficiency, for "the pure Soul came into the turbid Body, so that though it was a thing which was not deficient it gained through it (*i.e.*, the Body) very great deficiency."

For if the Soul came from a Place, as they say, who know not what they say, how and why is it not able to return to its natural Place? For if it was sent forth when a child it was here that it received Understanding, and that Place which was deprived of Intelligence was abandoned (?) by it. And if when it was possessed of Knowledge it was conducted (on its way) how did it leave Understanding behind? And if the Body perturbed it and (so) it forgot, as long as it is (associated) with the Body it is forgetful.

And if it is forgetful how do the false (Teachers) teach it to

Difficulties in the Teaching about the Soul's pre-existence and its entrance into the Body.

¹ Read perhaps *κλασσο*, p. 157, l. 2.

² Read perhaps *κλασσο*, p. 157, l. 7.

³ There seems to be an allusion here to the opening lines of the Hymn of the Soul; see 'Texts and Studies,' Vol. V, part 3.

remember anything that it has forgotten? It actually lost its Knowledge and a borrowed Voice teaches it (again), it lost all its Understanding, and a Buzzing (sound) in the ear makes it remember! And how does the Body not perturb that Voice which teaches it, seeing that it stands between two Bodies, (namely), between the speaker and the hearer; for it goes out of the mouth of the Body and enters the ear of the Body. And if the feeble voice of the teaching is not drowned in (passing through) the innumerable ears of the Hearers, that is to say, is not confused so as to proclaim Error instead of Truth,—for, as they suppose, they proclaim Truth to their Hearers,—how much more, therefore, would the Soul which is stronger than words be able to purify the Body in which it dwells, if it (dwells) in it without uncleanness! For, moreover, one Soul has no need of another Soul to learn or to teach. For as wild beasts are not dependent on one another because that animal-life is part of their nature, so one (Soul) is not dependent upon another in (the matter of) Knowledge, because their essential Knowledge is the same, if, as they say, the Essence of all the Souls is one. But if their Knowledge is not one their Essence is not one.

P. 159.

All teachers being clothed with Bodies their teaching must have the nature of the Body's Root.

P. 160,
l. 5.

L 21.

L. 29.

But in all refutations the same Truth conquers, and is crowned, in that if the Soul is conquered by the Body, much more would teaching fail (given) through the ear. And if teaching does not fail, much more does the Soul not fail. O let not, therefore, the heretics teach, for teaching is futile. (?) For if the teacher does not err, how does the teaching err, seeing that they are both clothed with Bodies? And if teacher and teaching are from one Root and both are covered with the flesh, how is one bitter and another pleasant, (how does) one go astray, and another teach, one wander and another guide? And if their Root is pleasant and (yet) their perturbation is bitter, either they are bitter like the Body or pleasant like the good (Root), or they are all [*bitter, and one of them is not sweet*] . . . or one of them does not remember. For how does he escape who escapes, and what is the cause that he (*finds release*) if they are all from one family, and from an Entity. . . . ?

And how is it a single Existence when there is from it one

good and another (evil). If there is Recollection in all the Root, then there is [no] Error in all the Essence. And as for the Sons of this Essence how does one fail and another conquer?—their Essence is not the same. For how does he err who errs, and his companion who is with him not err if his nature is akin (to the nature of the other)? If they are from [the same] nature, in the contest they are companions. And if on account of this Body with which he is clothed, he goes astray and . . . then how does his teacher who is clothed with the Body [not] go astray like him? And if the teacher . . . [in spite of the body] is able to teach . . . he shows concerning his Soul that he exists from its power. . . For he knows that if he taught like his companion, he would be abased. And how does he teach us. . . that Evil is not the same since from it comes one who is fierce also . . . in its part which is fierce (and) in the part which . . . it conquers.

How can diverse Souls come from a single Root?

P. 161, l. 21.

L. 20.

How do the false (Teachers) teach Abodes and Places? And the Places are fashioned in their (?) minds, and are not seen (?). If the Soul has come from a Place, how did it forget its Place? But if the Body perturbed it, and it forgot its permanent Place in which it dwelt, how . . . And the Body does not perturb the images (?) of the mind. . .

The pre-existent Soul and its Place.

L. 39.

* * * * *

But if a quantity of wine intoxicates and leads astray, how (much more) will a quantity of Error intoxicate and lead astray! But if, as they say, the number of Souls constantly becomes less from day to day because they are 'refined and go up,' how are those Souls that are left behind able to conquer seeing that they are left [in the midst of a quantity of Evil which they are not able to conquer?] Why [do they not all join forces against the Evil?] Is it not clear to the blind, that when a king goes to fight a fierce battle with a numerous force . . . [he unites his force with] other forces. . . ? [Though] therefore kings wisely add . . . to their forces, in this battle which, as they say, is fiercer than these battles of ours, see how the number of the Souls grows foolishly less!

P. 162, l. 18.

The Teaching about a continuous Going up of Souls leaves those remaining behind to be overwhelmed by Evil.

P. 163, l. 7.

But consider how foolish is the wisdom of the Teaching, nor do they know how to hide their falsehood. But how is

The right method

for separating Good and Evil.

Falsehood able to hide from the face of Truth? For instead of that which they assert, (namely), "lo, the Good is refined, and goes up," it would be right that the Evil should consume away and be removed little by little and cast into another place. For in this way there would have been advantage to both sides. For that Evil which was removed hence (?) would not be able to conquer on account of its defeat, and that Evil which was left behind could have been easily conquered on account of its smallness. For in proportion as the Particles of the Evil were plucked up from day to day and removed, so the Particles of the Good would have been strengthened from hour to hour, and would have conquered.

Instead of a Separation by a bad plan, the Evil Constituent could have been lessened by increasing the Good Constituent.

P. 164, l. 21.

But instead of these two desirable things which I have just mentioned, lo, on the contrary two hateful things are done. For the Good Particles which have been refined are tormented and then they escape, and the Parts which remain, see, they are tormented and are unable to escape. For their smallness is swallowed up in the abundance of the Evil. As for those, therefore, who say that Evil and Good are mixed together, and that these Constituents conquer, and are conquered, it is not right for them to weaken the Evil by Laws and Commandments. For in this way the Evil is not weakened. But they should make for themselves measures and weights, and wherever they see that the evil Constituent is great in a man, let them rather pour into him two measures of Good in order that the Constituent may outweigh the other. For thus experience in mixings teaches. For cold things are mixed in hot things in order that the heat may be mixed (?) and that they may not be . . . [*And when the heat has been lessened it cannot*] turn [*again to its fierceness*]. . . .

L. 37.

How the Good is overwhelmed.

P. 165, l. 20.

[*It must be*] therefore, that, as they say that the Souls are 'refined and go up' (so also) the Evil . . . [*gains power*] because the numerous Parts of the Good are 'refined and go up.' . . . to those Parts which are left behind . . . How are they able to conquer? For behold the Foulness of all these their companions which have been refined has been added to them.

P. 32.

And what mouth ventures to say that these Souls [*can escape from the Evil*]. . . . But what mouth ventures to say that these

Souls. . . . And what mouth ventures to say and to fabricate the Teaching. . . .

* * * * *

So that it was swallowed up in "the bitter Sea." But easily does the Falsehood lie which the Truth easily exposes. But if the false (Teachers) prepare again for themselves other escapes, again other bonds are prepared for them. For even if that Darkness is great in that it covers all places yet the Light is greater than it, in that it drives it from every place. But that thou mayest know that when a great quantity of the Good is mixed with Evil, then the Evil is able to conquer, let us ask them again, why of all these Particles that are mixed at present with the Evil, one drop only was not mixed with the Evil from the beginning?

P. 166, 19. Concerning the relative strength of Good and Evil when mixed.

P. 167.

If they say that even one Part of all these Parts which are mixed at present would be able to conquer the Evil, how is the majority of the Parts conquered by the Evil? But if they say that the sole purpose for which the Good was mingled (with the Evil) is that it (*i.e.*, the Good) may overcome the great quantity of the Evil, they confess, though they do not wish to do so, that when that good Constituent preponderates in its quantity then the fierceness of the Evil is conquered. Easily, therefore, does every Teaching fail which says that the Good is refined and goes up from the Evil. For addition would be necessary, and the Good would be added in order that by the quantity of the Good the fierceness of the Evil might be lessened.

But let Error be scourged by the inquiries of Truth in order that its disciples also may be confounded when they are convicted (and made to see) how greatly they err. For if, as they say, all the Souls are from one Nature, and their Nature is pure and beautiful, how can there be found in them two tendencies which are divided against one another? For there are among the Souls some who err and some who do not err; some who sin, and some who are pronounced righteous; some who love the Good, and some who hate it. Let them tell us, therefore, what is the cause of this division that the Souls are thus divided against one another so that they are

If all Souls are from one source how do they manifest such diverse tendencies?

P. 168.

Is their

Source
divided
against
itself?

quite unlike, nor do they agree with the source from which they came. If their Essence is not like its Nature it is found that their source is divided against itself. And lo, in virtue of what it is, a great Evil dwells in it, and the perturbation in it cannot be purged away because it is an Essence of which, in virtue of what it is, the Foulness cannot be refined. Why then, O Mani, did not the Souls come from this Good Part to wage war with the Darkness, since before the war they had had a great war in their own Domain, inasmuch as their Essence was divided against itself?

The
Souls,
moreover,
do not
continue
in Good-
ness.

And even of these pure Souls (it must be said that) their nature is not pure continually. But it happens even to these that they sometimes . . . [*are pure and*] sometimes they sin. And it is found that even in the case of this source the tendency of its nature does not always abide in it, inasmuch as its fruits are bitter and sweet.

Can
Freewill
change its
Essence?

And if they say that the Souls have Freewill, then how is their Freewill found to blaspheme against their Essence? And how also is their Will capable of being divided against their Root?

P. 169, l.

11.

L. 17.

L. 26.

L. 39.

And how is one Entity able to be the opposite of itself? . . . And see that when half of it has a contest with its (other) half . . . for its divided Will . . . with its Essence, nor is all of it tasted How much more does it give evidence that in the divided fruit which comes from it, its self-contradictory character is indicated! For if that Root is homogeneous, and its Parts homogeneous,¹ how does the Freewill which comes from it bring reproach by its fruits upon the [*Father*] of Souls?

P. 170, l.

5.

The Good
Will could
not be
affected
by Satan.
L. 37.

And if they say that the Souls have this Freewill, and this Freewill is from the Pure One, and by the craft of Satan, this Freewill goes astray . . . and how was their wise Will taught . . . their former Freewill perished, and [*they obtained*] another Freewill instead of the Freewill, and a Will. . . . (How is it possible) to persuade this Will which is not capable of being persuaded? But if the separation of (these) things occurred through force, and the Evil returned to its Root, and its Will also returned with it, and the Good also went to its Nature and its

¹ Read *ܦܘܪܝܢܐ*, p. 169, l. 45 (last word).

Freewill was drawn away with it, while¹ this cleansing is P. 171. thought to be a good thing, it is afterwards brought to nought.

For there is no true foundation among the false (Teachers), and on this account the thing which is built up with trouble afterwards collapses without trouble. For, lo, it is the [*opinion*] of the false (Teachers) that through their Will they always and for ever forget. (?) And how does the good Will which is mixed in them not remind them? And it was not enough that it did not remind them at all, but the reminder itself forgot along with them. And, again, how are there others who did not forget, and the Will of Error was not able to make them forget? And if these who forgot forgot because of the Body with which they were clothed, lo, these also who did not forget were clothed with the flesh.

And that thou mayest know that the Will of the Soul is always hateful, seeing that Freewill exists by virtue of its own nature, though it be not good; for Satan did not at all 'intoxicate' the Souls by means of the Foulness of his force in order that the Soul might not know when it does Evil that these things are evil. Even if it had been so it is (worthy P. 172. of) great blame, that, just as a thing which comes from the Pure One has a nature which may err and cause to err, and Satan mocks it as one mocks a drunkard,—and surely it was he who intoxicated the Soul and mocked it,—the Soul did not intoxicate him by its breath so that it might mock him. And as for those who as enemies were mocking at Samson (saying), Was he a Nazarite of God, seeing that all uncleanness mocked him, (was he) a strong man, seeing that a woman brought him low, and mocked at the hair of his head? the mockers of Samson were mocked; for a just inquiry mocks them, when it demands, and seeks to know how this Soul which proceeds from the Good, and this holy being which proceeds from the Pure, and this wise being which proceeds from the Knowing, and this chaste being which proceeds from the Venerable, how did the Evil One intoxicate it (*i.e.*, the Soul), by means of his Foulness, and all this (Evil) mock it, and put

Why did the Soul not resist Satan?

Samson resisted his enemies.

But the Soul is not only subdued but actually reviles its Father.

¹ Read 72 for 726, p. 171, l. 3.

to shame its chastity and render contemptible its venerability and cause its wisdom to err, and defile its purity? And what is more than all else (is the fact) that he made a disciple of it and taught it to insult God, whom they call the Father of Souls; and Samson was so far from blasphemy that he actually prayed to God. But the pure Soul though it comes from God (reviles) as they say . . . and it is found . . . when it blesses God and curses its Root and reviles God its Father. . . .

P. 173.

L. 8.

Ll. 17, 19.

And what force (constrained them) . . . (they) rebel against him and become his enemies. Neither have all those Souls come thence to whom this has happened here, for they proceeded from their Father in order that they might not come (hither) and go astray from him and blaspheme against him. And if from the time when they came hither they went astray here, perhaps there would be an excuse before they came, because anything which is from the place of God. . . .

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P. 174, l. 29.

So that he restrained from blasphemy those who remained beside him, and gives victory to those who are sent from him. And he (*i.e.*, the Good Being) would have shown his foreknowledge as one who knows all.

Concerning the Soul's foreknowledge of its rebellion and what it would indicate.

But if those Souls who came and rebelled, came also thence, they would know before they came that when they came they would rebel against him. And they did not only rebel from the time when they came here, but also when they were there beside him they are found to have been rebellious against him, inasmuch as they possessed a rebellious knowledge. For one of two things is necessary, either that they

P. 175, l. 8.

knew or that they did not know. If they knew, then they would be disloyal to him, and if they did not know then on the other hand, they would have been in Error there before they came (hither), and there was always room for disloyalty and error in him; and he could not be at rest from strife even when the Enemy outside of him did not molest him. For if his enemies injure him because they are disloyal to him, then it is a division inside of him which is able to

contend with him. And if he was not disloyal to himself, how are the Souls which come from him disloyal to him ?

And who will [*stop up*] this (gushing) spring of questionings, seeing that the things which have been said are many, and those which stand are not a few? And in proportion as one contradicts this false Teaching it is found that failures are crowded in the whole of it, and, therefore, that according to their saying, their Teacher was drunk in very truth. For he fights as a drunkard who falls wherever he turns himself. But for a space let us submit and accept from them the thing which the Truth cannot accept. For we will make them think that they have come to conquer in order that they may allow themselves to be justly defeated.

For suppose that the Evil One really intoxicated the Souls who went astray, is it not clear then that the thing which intoxicates our nature is akin to our nature, neither can our nature be greedily captivated and become intoxicated by means of anything except because it pleases it exceedingly? For excess in drinking proves to us the pleasantness of wine, for because it is very pleasant it has been drunk in great quantities, and because he mixed much drink the drinker became much perturbed in mind. For if we are given wine to drink, or strong liquor, or anything which is pleasant to us, it intoxicates us. Likewise, too, the Evil One, and Satan intoxicates the Soul by means of those things which are pleasant to the Soul, that is to say, by falsehood and by pride, and by arrogance, together with all hateful things. And how were things which are foreign to its nature acceptable to the Soul? For if drunkards are captivated by means of wine which is akin to our nature, the Souls would not be captivated by something which is the opposite of their nature. And if we receive drugs which are fiercely opposed to our nature in (a time of) great necessity, since there is a benefit for our pains in them, how is the Soul pleased with the wicked pleasurable (things) by means of which it is assuredly made sick?

And those things which intoxicate us also take away our memory, so that the drunken ones who go astray are not blamed; for they do not know that they are assuredly going

A Refutatory Summary.

P. 176.

If the Evil One intoxicated the Souls, they must have had kinship with the intoxicating thing.

P. 177.

The Evil One did not intoxicate

the Soul; for it still remembers the Commandments, though it breaks them.
L. 30.

P. 178.

astray. But the Evil One who makes the Soul drunk with the pleasurable (things), cannot take from it the Recollection of the Commandments and Laws. For consider those who do the Commandment when they know the Commandment, and those who rebel against the Law (and) who are acquainted with the Law; not from lack of knowledge do Souls sin, but on account of the arrogance, either of their Nature, as the false Teachers say, or of their Freewill as the true ones teach. For, though they know what righteousness is, they do evil; and though they know uprightness, they commit follies; and though they know the truth, they become defiled; and though they are aware of purity, they are made impure; and though an evil name is hateful to them, they take pleasure in the work of the Evil One; and though they confess the Good One, they are far from Good works. How, therefore, did the Evil One make them drunk as they say, seeing that they exist in all this perception? And if they did not know then they would not be blameworthy; but it is a very bad thing that, though they know they do not do, and though they are aware they do not practise.

The Soul and the works of Darkness.

And how do the Evil (Souls), who are not wont to learn, learn to do wisely, and how are the Good (Souls), who are wise by their knowledge, found to be unskilful in practice? For the Soul is untrained in that which concerns it, and its Adversary (?) is very cunning, for even . . . he compels men, for this Soul which they call 'Light,' when it practises the deeds of shame, goes into the Darkness in order to sin. And how did it turn its face from the Light its kinsman, and in Darkness perform the deeds of Darkness?

Why did not the Luminaries bring weapons to the Souls in their struggle?

P. 179, l. 12.

And see ¹ the Sun in their blindness they actually worship it, and the Moon—such is their madness—they greatly magnify and call it "the Ship of Light which—as they say—bears away the burden of their Refinings to the House of Life," and these Shining Ones who bear burdens, did they not bear (and) bring victorious weapons to the Souls which failed in the war . . . [*who failed because they were weak, and not because*] their Will did not wish to conquer?

¹ Read *ⲁⲓⲛⲁ* for *ⲛⲁⲓⲛ*, p. 178, l. 42.

But if they are so weak in their Nature their Nature is put to shame. And if they go astray by their knowledge they [*discredit*] their Root. And if . . . by their *Will* they are able to conquer . . . who say concerning the Soul that it became drunk, and was compelled since (Satan) made it drunk by force. . . . But if the Soul is stronger than Satan seeing that when it practises Evil it verily denies Evil and [*reviles*] Satan. Satan did not lead and carry it captive by force . . . [*for captives are not accustomed*] to revile the king who takes them captive, and servants are afraid of their lords and disciples of their teachers. But how is the Soul not afraid to [*rebuke its master?*], and lo, it is a bitter lodger (?) when it [*stays*] with him in his (?) beloved house. For the Body, as they say, is his (?) House, and . . . house of the Evil One. If the Evil One . . . [*is master of his own house, how does he allow the Soul*] to revile him? In the controversy of the true furnace this cannot stand. For he would not give it room (?) to [*revile*] him with words. . . . But if the Soul is stronger than he by its Freewill, as it is also stronger than he by its words and. . . . For it is found that it is the cause of Evil. . . .

The Soul not intoxicated or led captive by Satan.

P. 179, l. 26.
P. 180.

If the Soul is strong enough to revile Satan with words, its Freewill is strong enough to resist him.

But if Freewill has the character of a 'bound Nature,' [*how are there in*] it sentiments which are unlike one another? And it is found that there are not two Entities which contend with one another, as Mani says, because they are Wills of one Existence . . . [*For how do Entities contend with one another?*] . . . but that which was created from nothing. And when it is changed from one thing to another thing? For an independent Will it (*i.e.*, Freedom) has not, because it is bound in something from which it has come. For if it was (created) from an Entity . . . the Freedom of the Soul . . . [*depends*] upon [*the Entities*].

Freewill is 'independent' and does not come from a bound Element.

P. 181, l. 13.

And if they are good it is good just as if they are evil it is evil. And if the Entities are good or evil it is like them. And of necessity Freewill such as this is not at all Freewill, but a shadow either of the Entities or of 'bound Natures,' so that wherever they turn it (*i.e.*, Freewill) turns with them in like manner. But that Freewill which was created from nothing

is not bound up with that nothing, because it does not even exist. And on this account it is not turned as a 'bound Shadow,' but it is changed as an independent Freewill.

P. 182. But let us refute them a little, for whose correction even much refutation is too little. Because the Souls come from something, as they say, it is found that their Freewill also is bound up with something, and it is not found that they are either pleasing or hateful, but if this true Root is pleasing they are mingled with it. But if they say that while the fountain is pure its Will is perturbed on account of its free Nature, then without Evil and Satan, in virtue of what it is, Freewill is able by its own power to produce many evils. And they acknowledge the truth unwillingly that Freewill has power to change its Wishes, since its Wishes are not bound up with a good or evil Essence. For if it is bound up with a good Nature or an evil Root, its wishes have no (free) power, but they are pipes in which Bitterness and Sweetness move along from the Roots with which it is bound up.

Souls are not conditioned by the nature of the Bodies in which they dwell.
P. 183, l. 6.

But if they say that there are Bodies which are more evil than other Bodies, and Corporeal Frames which are fouler than others,—because (some) Bodies are fiercer than others, such Souls as chance upon perturbed Bodies are more perturbed than others who happen to come into gentle Bodies. But where they think that they have conquered there are they all the more taken captive. For if because of the Evil which was great in those Bodies, on that account the Souls that are in them make themselves exceedingly hateful, that is the argument which we mentioned above, (namely), that the Souls cannot remember, "because the Pollution of Error is (too) great for them, unless sweet Floods have come from their Home a second time, and lessened the Bitterness in which they were dwelling," or else (it must be) that the Souls who have been 'refined, and have gone up,' descend again that they may come to rescue their companions who have been overwhelmed so that they all may rescue all and go peacefully to their Domain; so that as all came to the struggle (together) . . . (so) they might go up from the struggle (together), and not be separated from one another.

Cf. p. cvii. ff.

And lo, again [*another word*], how is it that since that Evil is a single Essence it does not agree with itself? For the part which is not evil like its companions is better than its companions.

Why then are Bodies not uniformly evil?

For the Teaching which is fabricated by means of Error is wont to be destroyed by itself. For they blaspheme against God, although He is their Maker; they blaspheme against the Body, although it is their Body; they blaspheme against marriage, although it is their Root; they blaspheme against . . . though . . . therefore . . . and who fast according to Error since (their words are) against the True One (?) who says that 'ye shall know them by their fruits' . . . [*meaning thereby*] that from their words ye shall recognize them. For their works are like our works as their fast is like our fast, but their faith is not like our Faith. And, therefore, rather than being known by the fruit of their works they are distinguished by the fruit of their words. For their work is able to lead astray and (yet) appear as fine, for its bitterness is invisible; but their words cannot lead astray, for their blasphemies are evident. And just as he who worships idols does not worship wood or stone, but devils, so he who prays with the Manichæans prays with Satan, and he who prays with the Marcionites (?) prays with Legion, and he who (prays) with the followers of Bardaisan (?) (prays) with Beelzebub, and he who (prays) with the Jews (prays) with Barabbas, the robber.

P. 184, l. 3.

Refutatory Summary and Conclusion.

P. 184, l. 19.

S. Matt. vii. 20.

p. 185.

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^a l. 30, read ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ

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^a 1. 18. Seven lines are illegible.

^b 1. 36. Five lines are illegible.

25 אַזאַנאָר אַזאַנאָר
 יִלְיָ אֲנִי כִּבְּוֵא
 קִיָּא קִיָּא
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 30 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 35 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 40 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 45 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי
 אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי אַזַּנִּי

אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 5 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 10 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 15 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 20 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי

COL. 3

25 פּוֹחֵיכֶם הִנֵּה
 * * 1 * א כְּחַסְדֵּךָ
 כְּחֵסֶדְךָ כְּחֵסֶדְךָ
 כְּחֵסֶדְךָ אֱלֹהֵי
 קִיּוּן אֶת קִיּוּן
 * * * * * אֶת
 30 * * * * * * *^a
 כִּי אֲמַיִת
 כִּי אֲמַיִת
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 כִּי * אֲמַיִת
 35 * * * * * אֲמַיִת
 * * * * * * *^b

Fol. 47a
COL. 1

כִּי אֲמַיִת
 40 כִּי אֲמַיִת
 כְּחֵסֶדְךָ אֲמַיִת
 הִנֵּה כִּי אֲמַיִת
 : אֲמַיִת כְּחֵסֶדְךָ
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 45 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת

אֲמַיִת כְּחֵסֶדְךָ
 קִיּוּן אֲמַיִת
 * * אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 * * * כְּחֵסֶדְךָ
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת⁶
 כְּחֵסֶדְךָ אֲמַיִת
 אֲמַיִת כְּחֵסֶדְךָ
 כ * * * כְּחֵסֶדְךָ
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 כִּי אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת¹⁰
 כְּחֵסֶדְךָ אֲמַיִת
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 * * * * * * * א
 * * * * * * *
 אֲמַיִת : אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת¹⁵
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת * * *
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 אֲמַיִת * * * אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת²⁰
 אֲמַיִת * * * אֲמַיִת
 אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת
 * * * אֲמַיִת אֲמַיִת

COL. 3

^a l. 30. Six lines are illegible.

^b l. 36. Fourteen lines are illegible.

* * * 0 0000
 25 * 0 * 0 * 0 0000
 000000 0000
 COL. 2 00 0000 0000
 0000[?] 00 0000
 000000 0000
 30 0000 00 0000
 0 * * 00 0000
 0 * * 0000 * * 00
 000000 0000
 0 * 00 000000
 35 * * 0 000000 00
 * * 0000 0000
 0000 0000 00
 000000[?] 0000
 0000 00 0000[?]
 40 000000 * * *
 000000 000000
 00 0000 0000
 000000 000000
 0000 00 00 00
 45 * * 00 00 0000[?]
 0000 0000

000000 0000
 00 000000
 000000 0000 0000
 000000 00 0000^a
 000000[?] 000000 5
 000000 00
 000000 000000
 000000 000000
 000000 00
 0000 00 000000 10
 000000 0000 00
 000000[?] 000000
 000000 000000
 * * * * 00
 0 * * * 0000[?] 15
 000000 00 *
 000000 0000 0000
 0000 00 0000[?]
 * * * * 00 00
 * * * * 00 * * * * 20
 0000 00 0000[?]
 * * * * * * 00[?]
 * * * * 00 00

^a l. 4, read 0000

25 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 30 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 35 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 40 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 45 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים

Fol. 47b
COL. 1

כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 5 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 10 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 15 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 20 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים
 כְּחַיִּים כְּחַיִּים

COL. 3

25 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 30 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 Fol. 35b
 COL. 1
 35 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 * * * ׁ * ׁ
 * * * * ׁ
 40 * * * * ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ * * * *
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ * *
 45 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 * * ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ

ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ 5
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ 10
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 15 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 20 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ
 ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ ׁ

25 loheh allhuh
lolo lolo
 ihuh noheho
 ihu noho . noho
ooihu noho

30 oo noho noho
no noho noho
no noho noho
no noho noho
no noho noho

35 noho oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo

40 oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo

45 oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo

COL. 3

* * * l * noho
 * * o * * noho
no oo oo
oo oo oo * *
oo oo oo 5

no oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo 10

noho oo oo COL. 1
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo 15

oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo 20

oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo
oo oo oo

25 ן ן * * ן ן
 ן ן ן ן
 ן ן ן
 ן * ן * * ן
 ן ן ן
 30 ן ן ן
 ן ן
 ן ן
 * * * ן
 ן ן
 35 ן ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 40 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 * * * ן
 45 ן
 * * * ן * *

ן ן
 :
 ן
 ן
 5
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 10
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 15
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן
 20
 ן
 ן
 ן
 ן

Fol. 39b
 COL. 1
 10

COL. 2

ן ן
 ן

ן ן
 ן

ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 25 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 COL. 2 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 30 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 35 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 40 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 45 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל

ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 5 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 10 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 15 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 20 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל
 ןל ןלפ ןלפ ןל

^a l. 12, read ןלפ ןלפ

^b l. 14, read ןלפ ןלפ

85 తల . దాదాదాదాదా
 కాలానా నా
 అంబిదా . కాలానా
 నానా కాలా
 అక కాలా తల
 30 కాలా అక కాలా
 దాక నా కాలా
 కాలా తల నా
 కాలా మనా
 ల కాలా
 35 కాలా . కాలా
 కాలానా నా కాలా
 COL. 3 కాలానా కాలా
 కాలా కాలా
 మనా నా . మనా
 40 నా కాలా
 కాలా కాలా . నా
 కాలా కాలా
 కాలా కాలా
 కాలా కాలా
 45 . కాలా కాలా
 నా నా కాలా
 . అంబిదా నా
 కాలా నా కాలా

అక దాదా కాలా
 కాలా దాదా కాలా COL. 2
 కాలా కాలా
 . కాలా తల నా
 కాలా మనా 5
 . కాలా కాలా
 కాలానా నా నా
 అక కాలానా
 కాలానా . కాలా
 అంబిదా కాలానా 10
 అంబిదా అంబిదా
 నా అక కాలా
 అంబిదా నా కాలా
 అక కాలా అంబిదా
 కాలానా తల దాక 15
 దాక . కాలా కాలా
 అక తల నా
 కాలా . కాలానా
 కాలానా కాలానా
 కాలానా కాలానా 20
 కాలా . కాలానా
 కాలానా . కాలానా
 అంబిదా దాదాదా
 దాదా కాలా

COL. 3

COL. 2

5

10

15

20

25 [?]יֵלֵךְ אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ . מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ * * * * *
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ * * * * *

30 [?]יֵלֵךְ אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ

35 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ * * *
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ

40 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ

45 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ * * *
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ

אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ 6

אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ 10

אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ 15

אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ 20

אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ * * *
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֶתְּךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ

COL. 3

25 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 לְלֵבִי אֶת־
 קִדְּוֹתָהּ יְהוָה
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 וְלֵבִי אֶת־

30 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 .קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־

35 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 .קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־

40 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 .קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־

Fol. 31a
 Col. 1

45 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה

קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 וְלֵבִי אֶת־
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה

קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־
 וְלֵבִי אֶת־
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־

קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 .קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־

קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 יְהוָה יְהוָה אֶת־
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה

לֵבִי אֶת־
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה
 אֶת־לֵבִי אֶת־
 קִיבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוָה

COL. 3

10

15

20

25 קִיָּאָה * * .7 קַדְדֹה
 וְעַתָּה קַלְבַּתְךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ נִחַבְתָּ
 קַדְדֹה . חֲלִילֵיךָ
 קַלְבַּתְךָ ק * *

30 נִחַבְתָּ נִחַבְתָּ וְעַתָּה
 וְעַתָּה חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ נִחַבְתָּ וְעַתָּה
 נִחַבְתָּ וְעַתָּה
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ

35 חֲלִילֵיךָ נִחַבְתָּ
 נִחַבְתָּ וְעַתָּה
 קַדְדֹה חֲלִילֵיךָ
 וְעַתָּה חֲלִילֵיךָ
 נִחַבְתָּ חֲלִילֵיךָ

40 וְעַתָּה חֲלִילֵיךָ
 נִחַבְתָּ * * *
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 נִחַבְתָּ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ

45 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 נִחַבְתָּ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ

COL. 3

חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ 5

חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ 10

חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ 15

חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ 20

חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ
 חֲלִילֵיךָ חֲלִילֵיךָ

5

10

COL. 2

15

20

25 קאמ דאמ קאמ
 זינאן מדיאלי
 קל קב קדיא
 מאיאל [?]מאן זב
 זינאן . קאמא
 קאזינא זינא ^aמל
 30 . מל קאמ דאמ
 דאמ קל קל
 מאי קאזינא מל
 קא קלמא
 מלמא קאמא זינא
 35 קלמא קאמא
 קאזינא אמ א
 זינא קיז אל
 זינא [?]קדיא מא
 קאמא קאמא
 40 קיזאל . קדיאלמא
 קאמ קלמא קאמ
 קאמא מלמא זינא
 קדיאלמא מלמא קאמ
 קאמ קאמ
 45 מדיאל קדיאלמא
 קל קלמא מלמא

קדיא מל קדיא
 אל קדיא זינא * * * ל
 קדיא זינא מאמא
 קדיאלמא מאמא זינא
 קאמא זינא . קדיא ⁵
 זינא . מלמא מאמא
 קאמא קדיאלמא
 מלמא קאמא
 קאמא קאמא קאמא ¹⁰
 קאמא : קאמא
 קאמא דאמ קדיא
 קאמאמא קדיא
 קאמא קאמא א
 קדיא זינא ¹⁵
 קאמא קדיאלמא
 קאמאמא . קדיאלמא
 קדיאלמא קאמא
 מאמאמא מאמא
 קאמא זינא זינא ²⁰
 זינא קאמא [?]קדיאלמא
 קדיאלמא זינא קאמא ⁰
 אמ קאמא אל

^a l. 29, read אל

COL. 2 אֲנִי כְּאַרְבָּע
 25 כְּשֶׁבַע . כְּשֶׁבַע
 כְּאַרְבָּע . כְּשֶׁבַע
 אֲנִי . כְּשֶׁבַע
 לְכָל כְּשֶׁבַע .
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 30 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 : כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 : כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 35 כִּי כִּי . כִּי
 אֲנִי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 40 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 אֲנִי כִּי
 אֲנִי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי
 45 כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי

כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 5 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 10 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 15 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 20 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי
 כִּי כִּי כִּי

^b l. 5, read אֲנִי כִּי

^a l. 4, perhaps read אֲנִי כִּי

25 כחכ־פֿע ןַבֿבֿ
 פֿע : כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 פֿיֿחֿ כֿ כחכֿ
 אפֿזֿ? כחכֿ פֿיֿחֿ

30 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 פֿע כחכֿ
 כחכֿ פֿיֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ

35 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ

40 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ

45 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ

כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ

כחכֿ * * * כחכֿ
 כחכֿ * * * כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 * * * * *
 * * * * * 10

כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ

כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ 20

כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ
 כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ כחכֿ

COL. 2
15

25 נִיחַן . לַעֲשׂוֹת לַעֲשׂוֹת
 מִשְׁמַע נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 כֹּהֵל כִּי

Fol. 41a
 COL. 1 מִשְׁמַע נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

30 מִשְׁמַע נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

35 מִשְׁמַע נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

40 מִשְׁמַע נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

45 מִשְׁמַע נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 * * * * *
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

. נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

5 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

10 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

15 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

20 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד
 נִיחַן יִלְכָּד נִיחַן יִלְכָּד

25 dukaio al . kiiz .
u thi . kl mi
yn . mbi nu
ku ir ru .
ru . ku sh th

30 . ku kl ku ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru ru
ku ir ru ru
ku ir ru ru
ru ru ru ru ru

35 kl mbi ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ku ir ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru ru

40 ru ru . ru ru
ru ru ru ru

COL. 3 ku ir ru ru
ru ku ir
ku ir ru ru

45 ru ku ir ru
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru

mbi ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ru . ru ru ru
ku ir ru ru
mbi ru ru ru 5

ru ru ru ru
ru . ru ru ru COL. 2
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru . ru ru
ru ru ru ru 10

ku ir ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ku ir ru ru
ru ru ru ru 15

ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru 20

ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru
ru ru ru ru

25 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓
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 30 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓
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 35 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓 . 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓
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 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓
 45 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓
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Fol. 41b
 COL. 1
 20

25 if . am af
kl am af
kl am af
kl . kl af
am kl af

30 if kl am
af af . af
kl am kl
kl af af

COL. 3 af af kl

35 . af af am
af af kl
af af af
kl af af
am kl af

40 af . af kl
af af kl
af kl af
af af af
kl af af

45 af af af
af af af
af . af af
kl af af

af af af
af af af
kl af af
af af af
af af af 5

af af af
af . af
af af af
af af : af
af af af 10

af af af
af af af
af af af
af af af
af af af 15

af af af
af af af
af af af
af af af
af af af 20

af af af
af af af
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af af af

25 זע . קמלל קידיק
 קידיק קל זעו קידיק
 Col. 3 קידיקא זעו זעו
 זעו זעו זעו קל
 קדיקא קדיקא
 30 קדיקא קדיקא
 קדיקא קדיקא
 קדיקא קדיקא
 קל א ק קידיק
 קל ק ק קדיק
 35 קידיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא
 קל קדיקא קדיקא
 קמלל קדיקא קדיקא
 קידיק קדיקא קל
 40 * * * * ח א ק
 קדיקא קדיקא
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 45 קדיקא קדיקא זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו

זעו זעו זעו
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 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
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 5 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
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 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 10 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
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 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 15 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
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 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 20 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו
 קדיקא קדיקא זעו זעו

၂၅ က နေထ က
 ကလ . မြန်မာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ^၂ နေထ
 နေထက ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ . နေထ
 COL. 2 . နေထ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ၃၀ နေထက နေထ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ . နေထ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ၃၅ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ . နေထ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
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 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ၅ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ၁၀ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ * * ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
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 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ၁၅ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
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 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ
 ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ ကစိဝိဇ္ဇာ

^a l. 26, omit ၁

25 רבתיני רבתיני
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30 רבתיני רבתיני
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35 רבתיני רבתיני
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40 רבתיני רבתיני
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45 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
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רבתיני רבתיני
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 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני 6

רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני *
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני 10

רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני 15

רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני 20

רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
 רבתיני רבתיני
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Fol. 34a

COL. 1

COL. 3

25 קבלינא דא דא
 דא דא דא דא
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 דא דא דא דא

דא דא דא דא
 דא דא דא דא
 דא דא דא דא
 דא דא דא דא

Fol. 44a

COL. I

דא דא דא דא

דא דא דא דא 5

30 דא דא דא דא
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דא דא דא דא
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35 דא דא דא דא
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דא דא דא דא
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40 דא דא דא דא
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45 דא דא דא דא
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דא דא דא דא
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25 קיפּוּן מִן כִּדְעָאֵלַי
 אֶמְסַח לְךָ אֶת
 מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים

30 יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

35 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
 קִדְּשׁוּ אֶת
 שְׁמֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים

40 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

COL. 3

45 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

COL. 2

אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

30

אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע
 אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמָע

35 ל כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל

30 כחשאל כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל
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 כחשאל כחשאל

35 * * ל כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל * כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל כחשאל
 כחשאל כחשאל כחשאל
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40 כחשאל כחשאל
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45 כחשאל כחשאל
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כחשאל כחשאל
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Fol. 44b
 COL. 1

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Fol. 36a
 COL. 1

COL. 2

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COL. 2 קללתי קללתי

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25 ml dka * 2 * l
le ammadu
lhu: kimu
au klizit
pio dzezedu
30 keze? ul? iue
[k] [h] [m]
a * d * k [h] [h] [h]
* * * * *
kml dzezedu

* * . — * m
 k [h] [h] * * .
 * * * * k [h] [h] COL. 3
 mllay am[?] [h] [h]
 duh au [h] [h] 5
 kml kimmo ku
 k [h] [h] [h] [h] k [h] [h]
 k [h] [h] k [h] [h]
 k [h] [h] k [h] [h]
 k [h] [h] k [h] [h] 10

85 * * * * k [h] [h]
 * * * am [h] [h]
 * * * * * * *

k [h] [h] am [h] [h]
 k [h] [h] k [h] [h]
 . 0 . 0 . m [h] [h] k [h] [h]

Fol. 29b

COL. 1 kl [h] [h] . [h] [h] [h] [h]
[h] [h] [h] [h] [h]
40 duka k [h] [h] ml
ki [h] [h] . k [h] [h]
laa kml i [h] [h]
m [h] [h] [h] [h] [h] [h]
[h] [h] [h] . k [h] [h]
45 pio m [h] [h] [h] [h]
ka kl . k [h] [h]
k [h] [h] am [h] [h]
ku k [h] [h] [h] [h]

kl [h] [h] [h] [h] [h] [h]
au k [h] [h] [h] [h] 15
duka k [h] [h] [h] [h]
k [h] [h] am [h] [h]
k [h] [h] k * * [h]
k * [h] * * [h] [h]
k * * [h] [h] 20
kl [h] [h] k [h] [h] [h]
kl [h] [h] k [h] [h]
am [h] [h] [h] [h]
k [h] [h] [h] [h] [h]

25 קבב תיחכ
 קללג חכא

Fol. 28a

COL. I

קבב תיחכ
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קבב תיחכ
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35 קבב תיחכ
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קבב תיחכ
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קבב תיחכ
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קבב תיחכ
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26 קלמק קמק
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 קמק . קמקמ
 קמקמ קמקמ

קמקמ ק
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 קחוקמ * * *
 קמקמ קמק
 קמק קחוקמ^{? ? ?} 5

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 קמקמ קמקמ COL. 2
 . 0 . 0 . 0 . 0 . קמקמ
 קחוקמ קמק 10

35 * קמקמ קמק^{? ?}
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40 קמקמ קמק
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COL. 3

45 קמקמ קמק
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Fol. 28b
Col. 1

25 קחיליל קחיליל
 קחיליל קחיליל
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 30 קחיליל קחיליל
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 35 קחיליל קחיליל
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קחיליל קחיליל
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Fol. 28a
COL. 1

25 פתח פתח * * * * *
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35 * פתח פתח פתח
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 פתח פתח פתח * * *
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COL. 2 פתח פתח פתח

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פתח פתח פתח
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 פתח * * * * * 10

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פתח פתח פתח
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פתח פתח פתח
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Fol. 25b
 COL. 1

κ * * κ κ κ κ κ

85 * * * * * b *

κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

COL. 2

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80

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κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

95

κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

^a l. 13, read κ κ κ κ κ

κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

Fol. 26b
Col. 1

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^b l. 25. Eleven lines are illegible.

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COL. 3

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^a l. 18, read

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Fol. 24b
 COL. 1

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 നമ നമ നമ
 നമ ക്കിന നമ

30 നമ നമ നമ
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 നമ ക്കിന നമ
 നമ നമ നമ
 നമ നമ നമ

35 നമ നമ നമ
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നമ . നമ നമ
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Col. 2

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Col. J

25 קדיק קיטק און
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30 קדיק קיטק און
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35 קדיק קיטק און
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40 קדיק קיטק און
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 קדיק קיטק און
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45 קדיק קיטק און
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 און קדיק קיטק
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COL. 2

Fol. 27a
COL. 1 ?

25 קינין מן קינין
 חלל מלכות

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 קינין מן קינין
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 40 מן מן . קינין
 מן מן מן
 מן מן מן
 מן . קינין
 קינין מן קינין
 45 קינין מן מן
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קינין מן קינין
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 קינין מן קינין COL. 2
 מן מן : מן
 קינין מן קינין
 קינין מן קינין 20
 קינין מן קינין
 מן מן מן
 קינין מן קינין
 מן מן מן

25 קאמ קאמ קא * * *

* * * קא קא

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קא * קא קא

קא קא קא * קא קא

Fol. 20b
COL. 1
80

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

••• קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

35 קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

40 קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

45 קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

* * * קא קא 5

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קא קא קא קא קא

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קא קא קא קא קא

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קא קא * * * *

קא קא קא קא *

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא * 15

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא * *

קא קא קא קא 20

* * * קא * * *

* * * קא * *

קא קא קא קא קא

קא * * * * *

25 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
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 * * 𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣[?]
 30 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣[?]
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 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣[?] 𐎠𐎡 * *
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 40 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣[?]
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 45 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
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Fol. 20a
 COL. 1
 16

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גז לל אטבל

25 לל אל לל

אלמ חמ חמ

לל אטבל

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ[?]

לל חמ חמ

* * * * * *

לל חמ חמ 5

חמ חמ * * * *

חמ חמ חמ

30 חמ חמ חמ

. חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ^{??}

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ

. חמ חמ חמ

COL. 3 * * חמ . חמ . חמ

לל חמ חמ 10

* * * חמ *

חמ חמ חמ

35 * * * חמ * * *

. חמ חמ חמ

* * * * * *^a

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ[?]

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ[?]

חמ חמ חמ 15

חמ * * חמ חמ

* * * חמ חמ

40 חמ חמ חמ

* * * חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ

חמ חמ חמ[?]

חמ חמ חמ 20

חמ חמ חמ *

חמ חמ חמ

45 חמ חמ חמ *

חמ חמ חמ

* * * * חמ

חמ חמ חמ

^a l. 36. Seven lines illegible.

25 א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

30 א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

35 א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

40 א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

COL. 2 א ל ו ו ו

45 א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

* * * א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו 5

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* * * * * * ^a COL. 3

Fol. 23b

COL. 1

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו * * 10

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

* * * א ל ו ו ו

* * * א ל ו ו ו

* א ל ו ו ו 15

א ל ו ו ו

* * * * * *

* * * * א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו ^{??} א ל ו ו ו 20

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו * * * * *

א ל ו ו ו

א ל ו ו ו

^a 1. 8. The third column is illegible.

[?] [?]
 25 ק י נ א י ק
 א מ א
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 30 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 * * * * *
 35 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 * * * * *
 ק י נ א י ק
 40 * * * * *
 ק * * * * *
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 : ק י נ א י ק * * * * *
 45 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק

ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
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 5 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 10 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 15 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
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 ק * * * * *
 ק י נ א י ק
 ק י נ א י ק
 * * ק י נ א י ק

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COL. 2

25 מל דנא קצא
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 35 קצא קחודק
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 קצא קחודק
 40 קצא קחודק
 קצא קחודק
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 45 קצא קחודק
 קצא קחודק
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COL. 3

מל דנא קצא
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COL. 2

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COL. 3

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30 amlaam amlaam amlaam

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35 amlaam amlaam amlaam

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45 amlaam amlaam amlaam

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Fol. 22b
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25 כְּחֵלֶּה[?] כְּחֵלֵּה
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35 כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה
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40 כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה * * *
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45 כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה
 כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה * * *
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כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה
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 כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה¹⁵

כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה * * *
 כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה[?]
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 כְּחֵלֶּה כְּחֵלֵּה²⁰

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COL. 3

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25 קיחן קיחן אמה
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35 אמה אמה אמה
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קבֿוּת פֿידֿוּת פֿידֿוּת
 25 אַמֿוּת קַעֿוּת
 יִקְרֵי אַלֿוּת פֿידֿוּת
 פֿוּלֿוּת קַעֿוּת
 קֿוּלֿוּת אֿוּלֿוּת
 קַעֿוּת .קֿוּלֿוּת
 30 אַמֿוּת פֿוּלֿוּת
 קַעֿוּת .קַעֿוּת
 קֿוּלֿוּת אֿוּלֿוּת
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 אֿוּלֿוּת קַעֿוּת
 35 קַעֿוּת אֿוּלֿוּת
 קַעֿוּת קַעֿוּת
 קַעֿוּת אֿוּלֿוּת
 קַעֿוּת .קַעֿוּת
 40 פֿוּלֿוּת קַעֿוּת
 קֿוּלֿוּת קַעֿוּת
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 45 אֿוּלֿוּת קַעֿוּת
 קַעֿוּת קַעֿוּת

Fol. 22a
COL. 1

אֿוּלֿוּת קַעֿוּת .קַעֿוּת
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* l. 29, read קֿוּלֿוּת

Fol. 19b
COL. 1
25

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דלבי חמס . חסא

דחא דחמס עז

לעז שתיקל פלתיא .

דעז עז חמס

פלתיא דחמס ל

30 דחא דחמס חסא

דלבי חמס חסא

דחמס חסא . חסא

דחמס חסא חסא

דחמס חסא חסא

35 דחמס חסא חסא

דחמס חסא חסא

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40 דחמס חסא חסא

דחמס חסא חסא

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דחמס חסא חסא

45 דחמס חסא חסא

דחמס חסא חסא

עז חמס חסא

דחמס חסא חסא

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דחמס חסא חסא

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^a l. 44, read חסא

25 𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡[?] 𐎠𐎡𐎢
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 * 𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡
 35 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤
 𐎠𐎡𐎢 * * * *
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 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢[?] 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣[?]
 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤[?] 𐎠𐎡𐎢[?]
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 𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 𐎠𐎡 10
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Col. 3
25

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45.

* l. 29, read rlo or rlar

קאלא אמל
 25 יקדחך דגא
 איקדחך דגא ק
 קדחך דגא דגא
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 קדחך דגא דגא
 30 אומ דגא * * ק
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 קדחך דגא * * *
 קדחך דגא דגא
 35 דגא דגא דגא
 COL. 2 קדחך דגא דגא
 דגא דגא דגא
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 40 דגא דגא דגא
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* l. 1, read דגא

25 ממנו אם כח
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מל כח כח
30 מ כח . כח
COL. 2 כח כח כח
כח כח כח
כח כח כח
כח כח כח
35 כח . כח כח
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30 קלחא אה ז
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35 מלל קחאמח
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35 אֱמֶת אֱמֶת אֱמֶת אֱמֶת
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COL. 2
25

קײַט קײַט ׳ק
 קײַטאָ ׳ק
 ׳ק . קײַט
 . קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ ׳ק
 30 ׳ק . קײַט
 . קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ ׳ק
 ׳קאָ . קײַט
 . קײַטאָ קײַט
 35 קײַטאָ ׳ק
 ׳קאָ קײַטאָ
 . קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ . קײַט
 40 אָמ קײַטאָ
 קײַטאָ . קײַט
 קײַטאָ . קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 : קײַטאָ קײַט
 45 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
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 קײַטאָ קײַט
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 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט 15
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט 20
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 קײַטאָ קײַט
 . קײַטאָ קײַט

25 קלסא ? קמ
 קמא קחילסא
 מלסא ? קמא
 קמא . קחילסא
 קמא קמא

30 לסיקא קמא
 מלסא מימא
 לסיקא קמא
 קמא קמא ?
 קמא קמא

35 א קל . קח * * *
 מל מלסא
 קמא קמא

Fol. 12b
 Col. 1

מלסא קמא
 קמא . קמא

40 א קמא קמא
 קמא קמא
 קמא קמא . קמא
 קמא קמא
 קמא קמא . קמא

45 קמא קמא
 קמא קמא . קמא
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 קמא קמא . קמא

קמא קמא
 קמא קמא קמא
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 קמא קמא קמא

COL. 3

קמא קמא קמא
 קמא קמא קמא
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 קמא קמא קמא

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קמא קמא קמא
 קמא קמא קמא
 קמא קמא קמא
 קמא קמא קמא

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קמא קמא קמא
 קמא קמא קמא
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 קמא קמא קמא

15

קמא קמא קמא
 קמא קמא קמא
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 קמא קמא קמא

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26 כל אפ . תפארת
 תפארת תפארת
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30 תפארת תפארת
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35 תפארת תפארת
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COL. 3 תפארת תפארת
 תפארת תפארת

40 תפארת תפארת
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COL. 2

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Fol. 9b
COL. 1


25 אק 


COL. 3 * * * * *

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אמזיח  אל

קא.ת. : אמזיח

30  אמזיח


אלל  אמזיח

אמזיח קא

קאמ  אלל


קא קחוימ

35 קא אמ קאמ

קאמ  אמ


קא קחאמ

.חל קימ יחא

קחא  אלל


40 קימ קאמ

ק[?]ק[?] קחח

 אמ קאמ


אמזיחל קא

[?] קח קאמ

45  אמ קחח

ק[?]קחח : קחח

* * * * * אמזיח[?]

אמזיח  קחח

קאמ קחח[?]

קחחאמ קחח

קחח קחח[?] קחח

קחח קחח[?]

5 קחח קחח

קחח קחח

קחח[?] קחח[?] קחח[?]

קחח קחח

קחחאמ קחח

קחח קחח

10 קחחאמ קחח

קחחאמ קחח

אמזיחאמ קחח

קחח קחח אמל

קחח קחח

15 אמזיחאמ קחח

קחח קחח אמל

קחח קחח[?]

קחחאמ קחח

קחח קחח

קחחאמ קחח

20 קחחאמ קחח

קחחאמ : קחחאמ

קחחאמ קחחאמ

אמזיח קחח

25 קיטקא דיקא

* * ל^{??}ל^{??}ל^{??}ל^{??}ל^{??}ל^{??}ל^{??}ל^{??}

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קיטקא וטאטאטא
אטאידה דא קא

30 קיטקא דיקא

קיטקא דיקא

קיטקא דיקא

אלאאל דא דא

קיטקא דיקא

35 קיטקא דיקא

קיטקא דיקא

COL. 2 אדיקא דא

קיטקא דיקא

קיטקא דיקא

40 קיטקא דיקא

קיטקא דיקא

אטאטאטאטאטאטא

אטאטאטאטאטא

אטאטאטאטאטא

45 קיטקא דיקא

קיטקא דיקא

קיטקא דיקא

אטאטאטאטאטא

קיטקא דיקא

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קיטקא דיקא

קראו קום קום
 25 אמת מלפניו כי
 כל אדם . קראו
 עלינו אעלינו
 מן פניו מן
 קראו . מל
 30 מלך העולם
 הוה . אמת
 קראו מלפניו
 קום . מן העולם
 מלפניו כלל
 35 כל . קראו מן
 העולם קום
 אמת הוה . מל
 קראו מן הוה
 מן קום
 40 . קראו קום
 קום מלפניו
 מלפניו קום
 קום מן קום
 מלפניו כי א
 45 מלפניו מל
 מל קום

קראו מלפניו
 קראו מלפניו
 קראו . מל
 מלפניו מלפניו^a
 . : : . מל מן 5
 מלפניו מל
 מלפניו : מל
 מל . מלפניו
 מלפניו מלפניו
 מלפניו מלפניו 10
 מל קום מל COL. 3
 מל אמת
 . קראו מן מל
 מל מלפניו
 קראו מלפניו 15
 מלפניו מל
 קראו מלפניו
 מל מלפניו
 מל מלפניו
 . קראו קום 20
 : מל מל
 . מלפניו מל
 . מל מלפניו

^a l. 4, read מלפניו

25 אֲחִינֹכַח הָאֵל הַיְיָ
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 30 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 35 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 40 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 45 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

.o.o.o.o. אֲחִינֹכַח
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ 5
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ 10
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ 15
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ 20
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲחִינֹכַח הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

Fol. 10a
Col. 1

^a l. 48, read אֲחִינֹכַח

25 කුටි පුපුරුණ

පුපුරුණ කුටි

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කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

30 කුටි කුටි

COL. 2 කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

35 කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

40 .කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

45 කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

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කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

කුටි කුටි

* 1. 9, omit කුටි

25 קימחדידי קראו א
 : קאמ קימחדידי
 קראו קראו
 . קיי קימחדידי
 קראו קראו

30 א קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 : קאמ קראו
 קראו קראו

35 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

40 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
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 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
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 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

COL. 3
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B.M. Add. 14,623.

Fol. 14b

Col. 1

קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו
 קראו קראו

25 **ק**וּמַן מַלְאכָה קָמוּ
 קָמוּ . אַמְרֵי
 יְמִינֵיהֶם יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה קָמוּ
 קָמוּ . קִיְמוּ קִיְמוּ
 30 אֲנִי קָמוּ קִיְמוּ
 קִיְמוּ וְקִיְמוּ
 000000 . קִיְמוּ
 לְמַעַן יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה
 . קִיְמוּ קָמוּ
 35 יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה קָמוּ
 . קִיְמוּ קָמוּ
 . יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה קִיְמוּ
 COL. 3 אֲנִי קָמוּ
 קָמוּ מַלְאכָה
 40 . קִיְמוּ מַלְאכָה קָמוּ
 קָמוּ קָמוּ
 קָמוּ קָמוּ
 . קָמוּ קָמוּ
 קָמוּ אֲנִי קִיְמוּ
 45 : קָמוּ מַלְאכָה
 קָמוּ קָמוּ
 קָמוּ קָמוּ קָמוּ
 קָמוּ קָמוּ

קָמוּ . קִיְמוּ
 קָמוּ קָמוּ קָמוּ COL. 2
 קָמוּ יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה
 . אַמְרֵי קָמוּ
 5 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 10 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 15 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 20 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ
 דִּימֵי קָמוּ

COL. 2

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25 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 30 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 35 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 40 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 45 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*

ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
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ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 5 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
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ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 10 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 15 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
 20 *ḥalal* *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*
ḥalal *ḥalal* *ḥalal*

Fol. 19a
COL. 1

^a l. 8, read *ḥalal* or *ḥalal*

COL. 3
25

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25 אָמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 . אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 30 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 . אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 35 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים
 40 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 45 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי
 אֲמַר אֱלֹהִים . אֲנִי

Fol. 16a
 Col. 1

אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים .
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים .
 5 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים .
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 10 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים .
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 15 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים .
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 20 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 אֲמַר לְךָ אֱלֹהִים

COL. 3

* l. 14, read perhaps אֲמַר

25 קטנתו את קטנת
 אלהותו כל
 ילד אל אבותיו
 מלכותו מלכותו

Fol. 15b

COL. 1

קטנתו את קטנת

30 .קטנתו אבותיו
 אמתו אל ילדו
 אבותיו. כל אמתו
 אמתו את קטנתו
 מלכותו מלכותו

35 קטנתו .קטנתו
 .קטנתו אמתו
 מלכותו .אמתו אמתו
 מלכותו קטנתו
 מלכותו .קטנתו

40 מלכותו קטנתו
 מלכותו קטנתו
 ילדו אמתו .קטנתו
 מלכותו קטנתו
 מלכותו .קטנתו

45 קטנתו קטנתו
 אמתו אמתו
 מלכותו .קטנתו
 קטנתו אמתו

מלכותו קטנתו
 מלכותו .קטנתו
 .קטנתו קטנתו
 קטנתו מלכותו
 קטנתו מלכותו

5

מלכותו קטנתו
 מלכותו קטנתו
 ילדו אמתו .קטנתו
 אמתו מלכותו קטנתו
 מלכותו מלכותו

10

מלכותו :מלכותו
 קטנתו קטנתו אמתו
 מלכותו .קטנתו
 .קטנתו מלכותו
 מלכותו קטנתו

15

.קטנתו קטנתו
 קטנתו מלכותו
 מלכותו .קטנתו
 אמתו קטנתו
 קטנתו קטנתו

20

קטנתו מלכותו
 קטנתו .קטנתו
 קטנתו מלכותו
 קטנתו .קטנתו

25 אַם מלכא פּוּט
 . כּוּיַל מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל . כּוּיַל

30 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 . כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל . כּוּיַל

35 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל . כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל אַם אַם
 מַלְאַח כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל : כּוּיַל

40 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 COL. 3 מַלְאַח כּוּיַל . כּוּיַל
 . מַלְאַח כּוּיַל
 מַלְאַח כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל . כּוּיַל

45 מַלְאַח מַלְאַח
 . מַלְאַח : כּוּיַל
 . מַלְאַח . מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל אַם

כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל . כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל אַם
 . כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 אַם אַם מַלְאַח

COL. 2
5

. כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 מַלְאַח כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל אַם
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 . מַלְאַח

10

כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל . מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל אַם
 כּוּיַל . מַלְאַח

15

כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 כּוּיַל אַם
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 . מַלְאַח . מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל

20

כּוּיַל מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל
 . מַלְאַח . מַלְאַח
 כּוּיַל כּוּיַל

כתיב קדש וקדש

האלהים יתברך ואלהינו יתברך

אלהינו יתברך

א

B.M. Add. 14,574

Fol. 15a

COL. 1

האלהים יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

20 קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

25 קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

30 קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

האלהים יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

קדש יתברך . קדש

* l. 2, read קדש יתברך

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| THE SECOND DISCOURSE | p. 1-p. 44, l. 17 |
| THE THIRD DISCOURSE | p. 44, l. 18-p. 91, l. 3 |
| THE FOURTH DISCOURSE | p. 91, l. 5-p. 124, l. 20 |
| THE FIFTH DISCOURSE | p. 124, l. 21-p. 185 |

PART II.—SYRIAC TEXT

